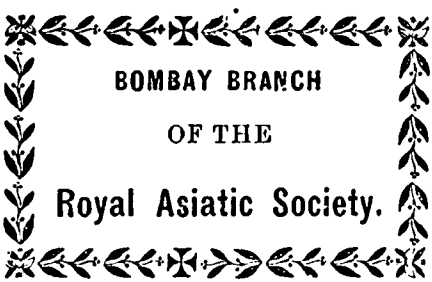
00021417

NOT TO BE ISSUED
OUT OF THE LIBRARY.



Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 26 June, 2018

THE

PUBLIC LIFE

OF

LORD MACAULAY.

BY

THE REV. FREDERICK ARNOLD, B.A.,

CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD.

LONDON:
TINSLEY BROTHERS, 18, CATHERINE ST., STRAND.
1862.

[*The right of Translation is reserved.*]

LONDON:
BRADBURY AND EVANS, PRINTERS, WHITEFRIARS.

PREFACE.

THE history of the present publication is briefly told. It so happened that the author as a contributor to some literary periodicals wrote several articles respecting the life and writings of Lord Macaulay. In doing this, it occurred to him that an account of Lord Macaulay's public life, based upon contemporary documents, and chiefly his own written and spoken opinions, might be attempted on a somewhat larger scale than had as yet been done. Such a work might possess some historical value, for the period of Lord Macaulay's active political life, familiar enough to contemporaries, is to the generation born since the Reform Bill perhaps less comprehended than any similar period of English history. It is unfamiliar in experience, and neglected by the professed student of history. The author accordingly made various notes on Lord Macaulay's public life, which he has now brought together, in the hope that they will be accepted as a contribution to the subject. The history and literature of Lord Macaulay's time are to him subjects as purely literary and historical as the times of Johnson or

Addison. The author has certainly written under a strong feeling of admiration and gratitude towards Lord Macaulay, but he has endeavoured above all things to be accurate and impartial, and to guard himself against an exaggerated estimate.

In reference to the citations in this work, I should mention that, with very few exceptions, they have been taken from writings unknown or practically inaccessible to the general reader. I have not thought it necessary to quote those works which may easily be in any one's hands. I please myself with the idea that I have rescued from possible oblivion some important fragments, interesting both for their intrinsic merit and their biographical value.

The book has been written from quite an independent point of view. It does not possess any peculiar value as being published under the sanction of Lord Macaulay's representatives, or aided by family materials. I have not thought it right to avail myself of any anecdotes or gossip. These—whatever their value may happen to be—I conceived would better find their place in professed *Memoirs or Biography*. I trust such a work will one day be published, and I shall be well content that my own should be forgotten in its superior interest. Happily in England a man's public character is not altogether separable from his private character, but the little I have said on this head is based on information that has been before all the world. I conceive that the same right which Lord Macaulay possessed of examining the career of public

men, might be exercised by myself in following, with uneven tread, his own. Nevertheless, I should have thought it proper to have sacrificed such trouble as I had taken, if it had been intimated to me that my book would be against the wishes of those who had a right to express a wish on the subject. But being obligingly informed by their nearest representatives, that there was neither the claim nor the wish to interfere, I completed my plan, in which my desire has been that I might not treat unworthily so worthy a theme.

I have to thank my friend Mr. A. H. Grant, M.A., for assisting to bring out this book during my own absence from England. I may add, that when it was on the eve of completion, I was admitted to a sacred order, which will require, so far as may be, exclusive attention to its peculiar studies. My first work, therefore, on a purely literary and political subject, will be the last.

LUGANO,

June, 1862.

CONTENTS.

CHAPTER I.

PAGE

Birth and parentage—Rothley Temple—The ancient chamber—Stanzas of a poem—Johnson's visit to Mr. Macaulay—The churchyard of Cardross—Aulay and Jean Macaulay—Two letters of the Rev. A. Macaulay—The Sierra Leone Company—Zachary Macaulay—Attack and capture of Sierra Leone by the French—Hannah More—Miss Selina Mills—Mr. Wilberforce—Macaulay's early education—The Rev. M. M. Preston—Portion of a letter from young Macaulay—His schooldays 1

CHAPTER II.

Macaulay at Cambridge—His character and habits—His first appearance in public—He is admitted a scholar on the Foundation—Death of Dr. Mansell—Christopher Wordsworth—The Craven Scholarship—An extract—He joins the Union of Cambridge—Macaulay devotes himself to the study of oratory—Lord Brougham writes to Zachary on the subject—Young Macaulay adopts his Lordship's suggestions—Specimens of Macaulay's Union speeches—"Oliver Cromwell"—"Lord Strafford"—Takes his degree as B.A.—Loses the chance of being Chancellor Medalist—Mr. Greaves' prize—Macaulay writes the Essay and obtains it—He contributes to *Knight's Quarterly Magazine*—Lines—An autobiographical passage on West-Indian Slavery—Mr. Moultrie's portrait of Macaulay in verse—A companion portrait by Mr. Praed—Macaulay's first appearance in London—Reports of his speech in Freemason's Hall—Theodore Hook's attack on Zachary Macaulay—The young orator elected Fellow of Trinity 20

CHAPTER III.

PAGE

What is a Fellowship at Trinity?—Euripides in error—What Menander might have written—His choice of a pursuit—Macaulay called to the Bar—His only achievement—He becomes commissioner in bankruptcy—The *Edinburgh Review* and the *Quarterly*—Macaulay joins the *Edinburgh Review*—The article on Milton—Mr. Murray's estimation of Macaulay's literary worth—The paper on Machiavelli—Sydney Smith appointed to a canonry in Bristol Cathedral—"The present Administration"—The Earl of Liverpool—Mr. Canning First Lord of the Treasury—Lord Eldon ceased to be Chancellor—Lord Lyndhurst replaces him—Lord Palmerston remains in office—Scarlett Attorney-General—The Marquis of Lansdown becomes Secretary of State for the Home Department—Extracts from Macaulay's papers in support of the New Ministry—Macaulay on "Pitt"—"Effects of French Revolution"—"Spirit of Party"—Prorogation of Parliament—Article on Dryden—"Old Ebony" on "Young Macaulay"—Review on Robert Montgomery—Oxford, or Alma Mater 42

CHAPTER IV.

The member for Calne—Macaulay succeeds Mr. Abercrombie—Sir James Mackintosh on Macaulay's maiden speech—Debate on Forgery—Death of George IV.—The King does not dine—Earl Grey Premier—Mr. Brougham Lord Chancellor—Close of first year in Parliament—Sir Robert Peel on Reform—"Reform sights and sounds"—Bishops throw out the Bill—Speech of Sir Robert Peel—Tickler on "Tom Macaulay"—American sketch of Macaulay—Interregnum—Passing the Reform Bill 63

CHAPTER V.

The election for Leeds—A year and a half of civic strife—The representation of the people—New borough of Leeds—Mr. John Marshall—What Mr. Macaulay's friends did—Mr. Michael Thomas Sadler—The hope of the Tories—The Duke of Newcastle's unconstitutional proceedings—Contest between Macaulay and Marshall—Anthology

PAGE

of the election—Polite language of each party—The battle between the Orange and the Blue—Incident at Bramley—Macaulay's conduct during the contest—Letter, October 5th, 1831—Visit and speech at Leeds—Another speech at Leeds—Incident of the speech—Burdens and enterprise—Interesting extract—Letters, Aug. 3rd, 1832—Question of Church and State—Macaulay's views on—The corn laws, church rates—The ballot, &c.—Opinions *v.* pledges, liberty, and responsibility—Letter, Aug. 10th, 1832—Another speech at Leeds—Religious liberty—Children in factories—Value of the Reform Bill—Place and popular representation—Equal to either fate—Opinions on church property—The revenues of bishops, deans, and others—Church property in Ireland—Tax on knowledge—A meeting in the Free Market at Leeds—Macaulay's speech—Sins of the Tories—Difference between Lord Lowther, Mr. Banks, and Macaulay—Paper and gold—Colonial slavery—Intelligence and loveliness of Leeds—Factory Bill—Board of Control—Salary of secretary—Reading the Bribery Act—Amenities of the scene—Macaulay's address—Numbers at conclusion of the poll—Brief address to the electors of the borough of Leeds 89

CHAPTER VI.

The reformed Parliament—Its popularity is on the wane—The "Leeds Intelligencer"—A gross calumny—Macaulay's letter on the subject—Mr. Buxton's letter—Sir Charles Sutton re-elected as Speaker—The House of Commons—The first instance of dissension—Debate on the Address—The state of affairs in Ireland—Mr. Cobbett—Mr. Stanley—Mr. E. L. Bulwer—Coercion and severity discussed—The member for Dublin—Macaulay's speech—Cobbett's reply—The "Rupert of debate"—Lord Derby's speech—Reduction of the Irish church establishment—Ten bishoprics abolished—A fund of three millions at the service of the State—Conservatives and Radicals dissatisfied—Restrictions on trade with the East—Travels of Bishop Heber—One of Mr. Huskisson's last public acts—The dissolution of Parliament—Select Committee—Six sub-committees—The East India Company—The Court of Directors, and Court of Proprietors—A General Court—Macaulay's speech on the second reading of the Bill—Settlement of West Indian slavery question—Evening of 14th May, and Thomas Fowell Buxton—Conditions of the Abolition of Slavery

PAGE

—Macaulay's speech—Supports of Mr. Buxton's Amendment—State of Jamaica—The colonies refuse to abide by Canning's suggestions for the amelioration of the negroes—The last day of slavery—The first dawn of freedom—Mr. Wilberforce—Miss Buxton to Zachary Macaulay—One other measure of this Parliament—Macaulay's visit to Leeds—Speech at a meeting of the Mechanics' Institution—A public dinner—The speech—Account of last session—Questions by Mr. Bower, and Macaulay's answers—Defence of compensation—The provisions of the East India Act—"To the Electors of Leeds"—Farewell address of Macaulay on accepting the office of Law Member of Council—Blue opinions at Leeds—Dismemberment of the Grey Ministry—The case of Mr. Sheil—Macaulay declines to disclose a private conversation—Court of Directors at the East India House—Mr. Macaulay sworn in 145

CHAPTER VII.

The "John Bull" on Macaulay's appointment as Fourth Ordinary Member of the Council of India—Arrives at Madras—Macaulay's minutes of his first impressions in India—Conversational indiscretion—Law commissions—Mr. Cameron—Mr. MacNaghten—Macaulay lands at Calcutta—A "Bengal Civilian's" letters—Literature in India—Dinner given by Sir Charles Metcalf—Toast, by Sir John Grant—Macaulay's reply, and first speech in India—St. Andrew's day, Macaulay presides at the Town Hall—Explains how far he is a Scotchman—On the "Civil Service of India"—General Macaulay at Travancore—Providence and the "Quarterlies"—First Indian coinage—The Law Commission—"The Friend of India"—Acts of the Commission—The so-called Black Act—Petition presented to the Governor-General of India—Captain Rider, and the anniversary of the battle of Waterloo—Political phraseology in India—Macaulay's social life, according to the Press—The Penal Code—A letter to Lord Auckland—The Body of the Code in Twenty-six Chapters—Notes—Quotations—Use of illustrations—Non-exemptions of Sovereign Houses—Abstract of the Code—Cases about books—On capital punishment—On the punishment of the pillory—On the question of receiving presents—Further cases—On the formation of the code—Mr. Macaulay's return to England—Indifference of the people—"Black Act" before the

PAGE

House of Commons—Quotation from the "Friend of India"—Judicial corruption — Macaulay's minutes on the subject — He denounces the Supreme Court—Proper jealousy—Denounces the outcry o' utta. 184

CHAPTER VIII.

Death of Zachary Macaulay—Obloquy cast on him by MacQueen and others—Evidence of Henry Drummond—Mr. Gladstone's evidence in his praise—Sir James Stephen's articles on the *Edinburgh Review* —Arrival of Macaulay in England—Travels in Italy—Lays of Ancient Rome—Letter to Mr. Black—Tells the story of his connection with Edinburgh—The *Times* attacks on Mr. Macaulay—Eloquent words—The conclusion of one of his addresses to the electors of Edinburgh—Aspect of political parties when Mr. Macaulay re-entered Parliament—The Queen and her ladies—Lady Flora Hastings—Lord Melbourne's heartless letters to her mother—Mr. Macaulay is induced to speak—Parliament breaks up—Macaulay appointed Secretary at War—Sworn of the Privy Council—Mr. Shiel again—Spiteful mentions in the *Times* of his being appointed Privy Councillor—Macaulay's mistake—Letter dated from Windsor Castle—The Session of 1840—The royal marriage—Queen's speech—Mr. Macaulay re-elected as member of the Cabinet—Mr. Disraeli—Making a suitable provision for Prince Albert—Debate and bon-mots about the sum—Macaulay on want of confidence—Attack of Lord Powerscourt—Reply of Sir Robert Peel—Sir James Graham on China—Macaulay's reply—Triumph of the Ministry—Lord Cardigan's half-pay—Graceful allusions to old friends in the course of the Copyright debate—Anecdotal remarks in the Irish Registration debate—Death of Henry Richard Vassall, Lord Holland—Macaulay's description of Holland House—Justice Talfourd's description of evenings at Holland House, and of Macaulay himself—Re-assembly of Parliament in 1841—O'Connell and the Irish Registration Bill—The Corn Law agitation—Ministerial defeat and tactics—Government defeated by a majority of *One*—Macaulay presents himself at Edinburgh for re-election—Remarks on the occasion—The Speaker re-elected—The Whigs out at last—The ladies of the household resign—Mr. Macaulay no longer Cabinet minister . . 241

CHAPTER IX.

PAGE

Her Majesty's opposition—Macaulay turns his leisure to profitable account—Writes his "Lays of Ancient Rome"—State of the world at this time—Macaulay speaks at some length on the Corn Laws—Peroration of his speech. Extracted from Lord Palmerston—Mr. Duncombe's motion—The Copyright Bill passed—Lord Ellenborough's proclamation—Macaulay's comments on it—Recall of Lord Ellenborough—The treaty of Washington severely criticised by Macaulay—Lord Ashburton despatched on a mission of peace—Debate on the state of Ireland—Macaulay's speech—Conclusion of his speech on the Unitarian Chapels Bill—Another specimen of his rhetoric—Anecdote of a case of conscience—The Maynooth question—Acute remarks of Macaulay about Sir Robert Peel—The *Times*—Philippic against Sir Robert Peel—His speech on the Irish church—Mr. Macaulay takes office as Paymaster-General . . 275

CHAPTER X.

Contested election at Edinburgh—Opinions of the Free Church and Dissenting Party—Inconsistency of the electors—Macaulay's speeches—Defence of the Maynooth and other votes—Nomination day—Complimentary speech of the Lord Provost—Macaulay at the hustings—Repentance of the electors—Letter from the Scottish Reformation Society—Answer to the same—Again elected for Edinburgh—State of the poll—Disappointment at non-appearance—Rumour of his death—Rejoicing at his return—Letter of thanks to his constituents—Large meeting—Last speech at Edinburgh—Fate of Lord Hotham's Bill—Description of the scene in the House—Speech on the Hindoos—Farewell letter to his constituents—Tennyson's lines on Arthur Hallam applied to Macaulay—Appointed High Steward of Cambridge—Speech of the Mayor—Reply . . 296

PAGE

CHAPTER XI.

Accepts a seat in the House of Peers—Retrospective—Brief remarks on his career—As a politician—On his consistency—As an orator—As a statesman—As an author—The History of England—Remarkable memory—The History too great an undertaking—Critical remarks upon it—Denunciation of the House of Commons—Death at Holly Lodge—Shortcomings as a Church Historian—Public feeling at his death—Noble instances of his generosity—Funeral in Westminster Abbey—Result of his career—Conclusion . . . 341

THE PUBLIC LIFE

OF

LORD MACAULAY.

CHAPTER I.

LINEAGE AND YOUTH.

THOMAS BABINGTON, the son of Zachary and Selina Macaulay, was born at Rothley Temple, October 25th, 1800. From Rothley Temple he afterwards took his title on his accession to the peerage of England. London always excepted, it was the part of the country most familiar to him. His aunt, Mrs. Babington, resided at Rothley at the Mansion. He had an uncle and various cousins residing at the Vicarage. Rothley Temple was the spot connected with the prosperous turn of the fortunes of the family, and caused a Scottish line to take root and flourish in England.

The village is rather prettily situated about four miles from Leicester on the Loughborough road. It lies on the borders of the ancient district of Charnwood Forest, the scenery of which in parts is still wild and beautiful. Rothley, with the various land and chapelries included in

the Soke of Rothley, was formerly a part of the enormous landed estates possessed in England by the Masters and Brethren of the Military Order of the Temple. John de Harcourt, a Crusader, who died in the Holy Land, made the gift to the Templars. When this order was suppressed in the time of Edward II., the lands were transferred to their rivals, the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem. The grey old church of Rothley, with its fine old tower, coped graves, and cross of Early Norman workmanship, recall the ancient time. In 1505 Sir John Babington, a Knight of Rhodes, succeeded as Commander to the Commandery of Dalby and Rothley. When the estates attached to religious mansions were secularised in 1540, the Manor of Rothley was granted to Edward Cartwright, who conveyed them to Humphrey Babington, brother of Sir John. In Nicholl's magnificent county history of Leicestershire, we have the regular pedigree of the Babington family, from a roll drawn by the College of Arms (with additions from public records, heralds' visitations, and private documents), beginning with John de Babington, Lord of Babington the over and Babington the nether, in the county of Northumberland, in the thirteenth century. The illustrious soldiers of the family had done good service in the French wars of Edward III. and Henry V., and had already gained an historic name when they came into the possession of Rothley. Singularly enough, on the family roll are found the names both of Zachary and of Macaulay, although there cannot have been the slightest connection in those days between the English family and the Scottish family. Quite lately the estate passed into the hands of Vice-Chancellor Parker, a close family connection of the Babingtons.

The house itself was long and low, with a frontage of

twenty-eight windows, exclusive of those belonging to a fine old chapel attached to the house. It was one of the few residences in the kingdom that belonged to the Knights Templars. It is reputed to be in the parish of Jerusalem, as King's College, Cambridge is in Lincolnshire, and as the houses of the bishops were once reputed to belong to their respective dioceses. Within the mansion were preserved some old helmets and an ancient constable's staff, and a rapier used at Rothley Temple in 1588, when its owner was summoned to bear arms on account of the Spanish Armada. On a large bow window the intermarriages of the family are beautifully recorded on stained glass. Among the memorabilia of the village it is recorded that a Roman pavement was found there; and Mr. Babington, writing in 1788 to the benevolent Sir Joseph Banks, speaks of a labourer finding in a field among other articles a cross plated with silver.

Macaulay himself has an allusion to the "ancient chamber" of the "old mansion." On the evening of the day of disappointment and defeat at Edinburgh, the thoughts of the wearied statesman, tired with the tumult and the strife, wandered back to days of childhood and the long unvisited mansion of his birth. He then wrote a truly noble and affecting poem, some of the stanzas of which Dean Milman justly considers among the finest in the language.

He applies to himself the pretty story which he applies to Lord Byron, of fays and fairies attending at the birth. The moonbeams are falling full on the cradle where, robed in white, the infant "sleeps life's first soft sleep." The fairy queens, with noiseless step, rise and vanish through the gloom. The Queen of Gain swept careless by; the Queen of Fashion had only cold disdain; the

Queen of Pleasure scarce vouchsafed a rose leaf; "the Queen of Power tossed high her jewelled head." At last there came one mightier and better than all:—

"Oh, glorious lady, with the eyes of light,
And laurels clustering round thy lofty brow,
Who by the cradle's side didst watch that night,
Warbling a sweet strange music, who wast thou?

"'Yes, darling; let them go;' so ran the strain:
'Yes; let them go, gain, fashion, pleasure, power,
And all the busy elves to whose domain
Belongs the nether sphere, the fleeting hour.

"'Without one envious sigh, one anxious scheme,
The nether sphere, the fleeting hour resign.
Mine is the world of thought, the world of dream,
Mine all the past, and all the future mine.

"'Fortune, that lays in sport the mighty low,
Age, that to penance turns the joys of youth,
Shall leave untouched the gifts which I bestow,
The sense of beauty and the thirst of truth.

"'Of the fair brotherhood who share my grace,
I, from thy natal day pronounce thee free;
And, if for some I keep a nobler place,
I keep for none a happier than for thee.'"

* * * * * *

The second name of Babington was, I think, very appropriately bestowed upon him. Juliet, with feminine logic, argues that there is nothing in a name; but a mere name has often been fraught with momentous consequences to the possessor. Somehow we frequently associate some notion of character with a name, an idea as old as Æschylus.

"Who gave her a name
So true to her fame;
Does a Providence rule in the choice of a word?"*

* ἐς τὸ πᾶν ἐτητυμως.

For my own part I am pleased that Macaulay bore a historic name, one that has knightly associations which vividly recall his own noble spirit, his impetuous ardour, his chivalry and generosity.

Macaulay's connection with Rothley, then, was simply local and accidental. He could not boast, and in any case he would not have boasted, of the pride of Norman blood. Rothley was not the home of his family. The Babingtons were not blood relations. To set forth his proper ancestry we must shift the scene to Scottish ground. We are told that this was a topic on which Macaulay did not care to dilate, and from which he would divert conversation. It certainly must be admitted that in his writings he shows little sympathy with Scotland, and sometimes awards her only a rough kind of justice.

My readers are probably familiar with the scenery of the Clyde, or at least with Sir Walter Scott's eloquent descriptions of it. Just past Dumbarton, where the castled cliff overhangs the Clyde very much as Ehrenbreitstein does the Rhine—and those who are familiar with both scarcely fail to associate them together—the broad river broadens still further to a noble estuary or arm of the sea. Here is Cardross, respecting which we will presently speak a few words. Turning in the meantime to Johnson's *Tour to the Hebrides*, with which we should always compare the letters to Mrs. Thrale, and Boswell's account of the journey, which is substantially an integral part of his great biography, we find one or two important literary notices relating to the Macaulays. Dr. Johnson came across both the grandfather and granduncle of Macaulay, the latter of whom, Kenneth Macaulay, wrote, or was supposed to have written, the *History of St. Kilda*. For a son of this Kenneth, Johnson obtained a

servitorship at Oxford. The two notices do not amount to much. Johnson dined and passed the night at Mr. Macaulay's, and did not refuse to listen to a Presbyterian prayer, although he would not commit the sin of entering a Presbyterian Church. In the other, Mr. John Macaulay passes the evening with Johnson and Boswell at their inn at Inverary. As we might have expected, the doctor gets very warm in an argument, and tells his guest that he must be grossly ignorant of human nature. However, next morning "Mr. Macaulay breakfasted with us, nothing hurt or dismayed at his last night's correction." The original meaning of the name Macaulay is Mac Aulaidh, the son of Olaf or Olave. A slight attempt has been made to connect the Macaulays with the Dumbartonshire house of Ardincaple, but in all likelihood they were of humbler origin. The father of John and Kenneth was Aulay Macaulay, the minister of Harris, one of the parishes of the Western Isles. This John Macaulay married the daughter of Colin Campbell of Inversegar, Argyleshire.

In the churchyard of Cardross there is a plain freestone slab, raised above two feet from the ground, covered with moss, erected to the memory of the Rev. John Macaulay. It is still possible to decipher the inscription. It mentions, with an accuracy and particularity of kin desiderated in monumental inscriptions, the salient points of his useful and humble career. He was ordained in 1745, and respectively served as minister at South Uist, Lisburn, Inverary, and Cardross. The monument was erected as a tribute of filial regard, gratitude, and love. He left twelve children, of whom many were sons. It is recorded that John, the youngest, died in his infancy, suggesting that the others grew up.

Of these children we shall mention only five. One was

a soldier, and rose to the rank of general in the East Indian Army. Another was Jean Macaulay, who married Mr. Babington, of Rothley. Another was Aulay Macaulay, vicar of Rothley. Another was Zachary Macaulay, the father of the historian. Another was Kenneth Macaulay, for twenty years in the India Civil Service. We shall first speak of the brother and sister settled at Rothley, Aulay and Jean Macaulay.

Aulay Macaulay was a man of some mark in his day; he possessed a reputation that would have been wider had his opportunities been wider also. He took the degree of M.A. at the University of Glasgow before he was twenty. At that early age he contributed to a weekly local magazine, under the signature of Academicus. He then took a tutorship in an English family near Bedford, where he remained three years. At that time he obtained a title to Orders, and not belonging to a University recognised by the English bishops, must have been ordained as a literate person. Subsequently, however, he put down his name at Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, as a Ten Years' Man, which would have entitled him in due course to the degree of B.D., if he had wished to take it. His first curacy was at Claybrook, and he wrote a volume on its *History and Antiquities*, besides contributing an account of it to *Nicholl's Leicestershire*. In the autumn of 1793 he made a tour in South Holland and the Netherlands, and gave an interesting and curious account of it in vol. 75 of *The Gentleman's Magazine*. Next year he again went abroad as travelling tutor to a son of Sir Walter Farquhar, and at the court of the Duke of Brunswick he became acquainted with the late Duke, and was a frequent guest at his table. He acted as tutor to the Princess Caroline of Denmark, the unhappy Queen of England.

Both the old Duchess of Brunswick, on her return to England, her native country, and the Princess, after her marriage, distinguished him "by repeated proofs of grateful recollection." In 1796 he was presented by his brother-in-law, Mr. Babington, with the living of Rothley, now valued in the *Clergy List* at 466*l.* a-year. In this quiet retirement he continued for many years as a useful parish clergyman, and cultivated literary ease. It is said of him that few ever possessed greater abilities for writing, or greater stores of classical and historical learning. He also had the reputation of being a worthy and benevolent clergyman. In his youth he published essays on various subjects of taste and criticism; and also a translation with notes and illustrations of a Latin treatise by a Leyden Professor. Besides several sermons *published,* and an *Editio Expurgata* of Pope, *meditated,* he engaged in a *magnum opus,* the *Life of Melanchthon,* on which he was more or less occupied for thirty years. Whether, however, from fastidious dissatisfaction, the paucity or difficulty of procuring materials, or indolence or procrastination, the works never saw the light. This is the more to be regretted, as the beautiful life of the most tolerant and catholic-minded of all the great Reformers would be a real boon to our literature. In 1815 his quiet uniform life was interrupted by a second continental tour, of which he sent an account, never completed, to Sylvanus Urban. He died from apoplexy on the 29th of February, 1819, leaving a numerous family, of which one, Mr. Macaulay, of the Midland Circuit, and M.P., has attained to some eminence. The *Gentleman's Magazine* for that year preserves a letter, and an extract from a letter, which are very interesting. (Vol. 89, Part I. 287.)

"CLAYBROOK, *July 18th*, 1796.

"MY DEAR FRIEND,—I am sure you will be glad to hear that fortune begins to smile upon me. *Respexit tamen, et longo post tempore venit.* Mr. Babington has offered me a presentation to the living of Rothley, vacant by his brother's death, to which I shall probably be instituted in the course of a few weeks. I think of commencing residence at Rothley about Michaelmas; and I hope that I shall not be long there before I have the satisfaction of seeing you under my roof. I shall be sorry to part with my honest friends at Claybrook; and am very anxious about the succession to the curacy. The Bishop has the nomination; but he will probably listen to my recommendation.

"A. MACAULAY."

"ROTHLEY VICARAGE, *February 20th*, 1798.

"I AM now as comfortably situated as a country parson can reasonably desire; and no ambitious dreams disturb my repose, notwithstanding the following passage from a letter to a friend in high life: 'I have no doubt of your eventual promotion in the Church, for YOUR PRINCESS does not forget her friends.'"

Nine years before Aulay Macaulay came to Rothley, his sister Jean married Mr. Babington, his future patron. An able writer in *Fraser's Magazine* (T. E. K.) states that when a young gentleman, Mr. Babington, being crossed in love, took to travelling, and in the course of his wanderings found consolation in a Scotch manse. Mr. Thomas Babington married Miss Jean Macaulay in 1787, in his thirtieth year. We are not acquainted with the age of the bride. He became an active country gentle-

man, a worthy M.P., and with great strictness and regularity supported the Society for the Suppression of Vice.

Zachary was a younger brother of Aulay Macaulay. He was born in the year 1768. When quite a boy of nineteen and thrown on the world, he was sent out as overseer to an estate in the Island of Jamaica. At the age of twenty-five we find him at Sierra Leone and in correspondence with William Wilberforce (1793). In the year 1786 we find Granville Sharp publishing a *Short Sketch of Temporary Regulations (until better shall be proposed) for the Intended Settlement on the Grain Coast of Africa, near Sierra Leone.* The next year a number of gentlemen subscribed several thousand pounds to send a number of destitute blacks, then in London, to Sierra Leone. Land was purchased from a native chief, and the English Government was at the expense of transporting the blacks, and supplying them with necessaries for the first six or eight months. A Sierra Leone Company was incorporated by Act of Parliament, and raised a capital of 235,280*l.* They admitted into the colony free negroes from Nova Scotia, to whom the government gave a free passage. In 1792 these vessels left England, containing 100 white persons, supported by the company. A regular colony was now formed, with a regular governor appointed by the company according to their powers. Mr. Zachary Macaulay must have been there almost at the very outset of the undertaking, in the capacity of Member of Council, owing to the recommendation of his brother-in-law Mr. Babington. The company seems to have been founded on the model of the East India Company, *parvis componere magna.* They were a philanthropical rather than a trading corporation, and had only about 27,000*l.* invested in trade. Mr. Dawes was the first governor. In 1794 a great

misfortune befel the company. A French squadron appeared off the coast, and captured the little town. The French behaved with great barbarity, robbed the ships, set fire to the place, and indulged in every species of licence. Unfortunately the company's largest vessel with a valuable cargo, arrived about this time, and was captured by the French, who also took several small trading vessels belonging to the infant settlement. We find Mr. Zachary Macaulay in the position of acting governor. Then it is mentioned in the report of the company that Mr. Dawes, who had resigned, was again going out as governor, and that Mr. Z. Macaulay was suffering from indisposition. We may here say that the company was dissolved in January, 1808, and the colony transferred to the Crown.

Mr. Zachary Macaulay returned to England for a short time. In January, 1796, we find Hannah More writing to him from Bath, and expecting that her letter would find him at Fulham. No mention occurs in this letter of a younger lady, who is regularly mentioned in other letters, Miss Selina Mills, of Bristol. Next month we find that Mr. Zachary Macaulay is at Bristol, meditating a return to the colony, and seemingly on good terms with Miss Mills. The young lady had been a pupil of Hannah More's, when she with her sister kept a boarding school at Bristol,—reputed the best in the West of England. A curious circumstance set Hannah More free from her scholastic duties. She was engaged to a gentleman of fortune, who, from peculiarities of disposition, while entertaining the highest esteem for Hannah More, declined to fulfil his engagement. Hannah More was then twenty-two, and the gentleman nearly double her age. She might, however, like others, appeal for damages to "an

intelligent jury of her civilised countrymen." The circumstances were really hard. The day had been fixed, all preparations made, and the interest in the school given up. Mr. Turner proposed to settle an annuity on her, an offer which she rejected. He felt, however, uneasy in mind, and could not rest till he could make atonement, as he delicately expresses it, "for the robbery he had committed upon her time." As Miss Selina Mills had been her pupil, and after this event Miss More appears to have had no pupil, the young lady could not have been very young. We find then Miss More writing, "My sister Patty went to Bristol two days ago, when I desired she would beg Miss Mills to explain to you the cause of my seemingly very unkind behaviour. . . . . I hope and believe you clearly understand that nothing but my firm persuasion that you had sailed would have caused me to behave with such seeming negligence and ingratitude." The father of Miss Mills was a bookseller, and the family were Quakers. The same year we find her writing to him as if at Sierra Leone, at a date when he was in England, (which is perhaps explained by the mistake she made,) hoping he will have had no attack from his horrible old visitors the French, and that the British squadron was a defence. She tells him she has seen his sister, Mrs. Babington, at Cowslip Green, and adds, "Selina, I trust, will have told you all that is past." In September, 1797, she again writes, "I have had the pleasure of receiving your kind letter, dated the 1st of June. . . . . I have not seen Selina lately. . . . . Selina, I suppose, told you that Mr. Wilberforce brought his bride down here almost immediately after their marriage. She is a pretty, pleasing, pious young woman, and I hope she will make him happy." These letters are addressed to Mr. Macaulay,

as Governor of Sierra Leone. In an earlier letter she had written, "Miss Mills has been busy at work transcribing your *Communicant*. We much approve what you have done. Pray don't forget to bring her previous performance, as I dare say she would be miserable to have it lost." In 1799, Zachary Macaulay finally left Sierra Leone, and returned to England. Shortly afterwards his marriage took place. He returned home otherwise than on the last occasion. He then, although in weak health, determined to become personally acquainted with the horrors of the Middle Passage, and embarked in April, 1795, on board a slave-ship, the Anna Philippa, bound for Barbadoes; his well known principles made this a matter of jeopardy. He was, practically, better acquainted than any living man with all the details of the slave trade. When an overseer in the West Indies, and subject to hardships and privations only inferior to those of the slaves, he wrote to a friend, "It is a situation in which I flatter myself I shall be able to alleviate the hardships of a considerable number of my fellow-creatures, and to render the bitter cup of servitude as palatable as possible. In the year 1800 he was appointed Secretary to the Sierra Leone Company, a post which he held till its dissolution. The *Christian Observer* was now established, and after it had been published for a few months it passed into the hands of Mr. Macaulay, who edited it till 1816. His labours in the anti-slavery cause were enormous. Most of the abolition pamphlets were from his pen. He would sit up in consultation at Mr. Wilberforce's till daybreak, and then retire to put their plans in shape. For many years he was the gratuitous and hard-working Secretary of the African Institution. On February 4th, 1808, the Court of Directors of the Sierra Leone Company unanimously

resolved that Mr. Macaulay's superior talents, great industry, and intimate knowledge of African affairs, would be of great use to His Majesty's Government, and resolved that they would earnestly recommend him to Lord Castlereagh as qualified to fill any situation that might require an acquaintance with African subjects. A letter to that effect was prepared and signed by the Directors, but nothing came of it. In 1812 a very large and important meeting resolved "as a permanent though inadequate expression of their gratitude," to give him a piece of plate of the value of one hundred guineas. He was regarded by one and all as "the Atlas on whose strength the anti-slavery world rested." Unlike his son, he was slow of speech, and never did anything as an orator. His great *forte* was business, and to perform this he never allowed himself more than six hours' sleep. He gave his children a happy home. One evidently well acquainted with him writes, "His habits were of the most domestic nature; fond of children, and pleased with the society of the young, he was always cheerful; in his house mirth and wisdom went hand in hand, and no one left the domestic circle without being the wiser and better for having entered it."

It is almost to be regretted that Hannah More's pupil, so unlike Hannah More herself, has left no written published remains. To the mothers of our great men a strong and peculiar interest attaches. She appears to have possessed a fine and richly stored mind. Hannah More speaks of "her mild accommodating temper, her sober sense, and piety. Till his thirteenth year, it seems, the young Macaulay was educated at home, and chiefly by his mother. After his death, some notices occurred in one or two weekly and one or two monthly

periodicals respecting his boyhood. Now it is not my intention to indulge in quotations from these, but I shall briefly indicate their drift. His friends thought him, like Edwin, "no vulgar boy." His hymns were "wonderful for such a baby!" His is a childhood which recalls the childhood of Pascal. At eleven years old he is reading the *Lusiad* of Camoens. That wonderful old lady, Hannah More, speaks with keen insight of "his great superiority of intellect and quickness of passion. He ought to have competitors. He is like the prince who refused to play with anything but kings." His father thought of putting him to Westminster School, but did not, and Westminster School must regret the loss of so signal a distinction. We believe he went to Mr. Pritchard's school at Clapham, and was greatly benefited by the teaching he had there. In 1813 the young fellow was greatly impressed by the expedition to Russia, and wrote a poem called *Moscow*. His father now placed him with the Rev. M. M. Preston, the late Vicar of Cheshunt. Mr. Preston was for a time at Shelford, within a few miles of Cambridge, and afterwards removed to Aspeden Hall, Herts. He was a good man, belonging to the Evangelical set, and had been eleventh wrangler and Fellow of Trinity. Mr. Preston reported that his pupil learned rapidly and generally; that his dispositions were good, and that his reverence for religion what he could wish. A facsimile has been published of a letter of his in his fifteenth year,—a broad, boyish hand, full of fluent curves. We give a portion.

"We are eagerly expecting the promised essay, which will, indeed, be a most important addition to the literary history of the year eighteen hundred and fifteen, ample as that already is. Every eminent writer of poetry, good or

bad, has been publishing within the last month, or is to publish shortly. Lord Byron's pen is at work over a poem as yet nameless. Lucien Bonaparte has given the world his *Charlemagne*. Scott has published his *Lord of the Isles*, in six cantos, a beautiful and elegant poem; and Southey his *Roderick the last of the Goths*. Wordsworth has printed *The Excursion*, a ponderous quarto of five hundred pages, '*being a portion of the intended poem entitled The Recluse.*' What the length of this intended poem is to be, as the Grand Vizier said of the Turkish poet,

'N'est connu qu'à Dieu et à M. Wordsworth.'

This forerunner, however, is, to say no more, almost as long as it is dull; not but that there are many striking and beautiful passages interspersed; but who would wade through a poem

' Where, perhaps, one beauty shines
In the dry desert of a thousand lines ?'

"To add to the list, my dear Madam, you will soon see a work of mine in print. Do not be frightened! it is only the index to the thirteenth volume of the *Christian Observer*, which I have had the honour of composing. Index-making, though the lowest, is not the most useless round in the ladder of literature; and I pride myself upon being able to say that there are many readers of the *Christian Observer* who could do without Walter Scott's works, but not without those of, my dear Madam, your affectionate friend,

"THOMAS B. MACAULAY."

In Macmillan for February, 1860, there is a statement about Macaulay at school, purporting to come from an old schoolfellow. We are told that he was rather largely built than otherwise, but not fond of the ordinary physical sports of boys; with a disproportionately large head, slouching or stooping shoulders, and a whitish or pallid complexion; incessantly reading or writing, and often reading or repeating poetry in his walks with his companions. The titles of some of his boyish attempts have been preserved, such as *The Vision, Address to Milton, Inscription for the Column of Waterloo, Imitation of Lord Byron, Lines to the Memory of Pitt.* In an obscure work, *Traits of Character*, I have met with the following anecdote, which has an air of verisimilitude; so I quote it without vouching for it. Hannah More certainly exhorts him to keep himself tidy.

"Mr. Preston told a lady, who had rallied him on his excessive predilection for the lad's society,—she holding that Hannah More's suggestion that her young friend should be 'very neat,' was not sufficiently attended to, and Tom being in her eyes chiefly noticeable for unbrushed appa.. l, unkempt hair, and strong antipathy to soap and water—'All you say is true, madam, but it is also certain that Tom Macaulay is an extraordinary young man; he has much classical and more miscellaneous reading, a vivid imagination, and a prodigious memory; nor do I, either in or out of Cambridge, know any one with whom I can converse more pleasantly, or would prefer as my companion in my rambles of a Saturday afternoon.' Both were right. Young Tom worshipped the Muses ardently, but paid no court whatever to the Graces. Some few weeks after the conversation we have above adverted to, as Mr. Preston, with his sisters and their visitor, sat after

supper in the library at Shelford, his reverence was startled, and the females terrified, by loud cries of rage and furious expostulation, mixed with half-smothered laughter, proceeding from the pupils' room. Thither the Vicar, followed by the ladies, hurried, and there saw Tom Macaulay held down forcibly in an arm-chair by three of his schoolfellows, while a fourth was shaving him. Mr. Preston's entrance released the future orator from confinement, and Tom, almost beside himself with fury, amidst uproarious and utterly irrepressible shouts of merriment, spluttered forth his grievances, three parts eloquence and the remaining quarter soap-suds. At length, when out of breath with raving, the well-lathered plaintiff ceased his torrents of volubility, and Mr. Preston looked towards the aggressors for an explanation. 'Sir,' cried their spokesman, 'we are sorry to have disturbed your quiet. But Tom Macaulay's slovenly habits are disrespectful to your sisters, to their visitor, and to yourself; they bring, moreover, much discredit upon us all. We have often threatened him, but he will take no warning; and so this evening we resolved to give him a thorough cleaning.' Mr. Preston heard, pondered, and anon delivered a judgment, his sentence being worthy of King Solomon or Sancho Panza. He forbade the use of razors, as being too dangerous, and indeed premature; but with that sole restriction gave full licence to Tom's schoolfellows to employ comb, brush, and towel upon the recusant whenever forcible ablution should be necessary."

Later he spent some time with the wise old lady, who thought him frail in body, and made him live a good deal in the open air. She and her young visitor would converse in ballad-rhymes or Johnsonian sesquipedalians; condescending at tea to riddles and charades. She found

him as "boyish as studious," and I believe it is a mistake to suppose he could not be a boy among boys. The old lady lived to see the accomplishment of her wish that "Tom might be in Parliament, for then he would beat them all." Lord Macaulay always cherished a warm recollection of Hannah More, and when an invalid at Clifton, pointed out her house and spoke of her with affection. We are now about the date when he went up to college, and justified the assertion that was ever made respecting him, that he was the cleverest schoolboy and cleverest undergraduate in England. His old tutor was delighted and astonished by his successes. "That, Sir," he once exclaimed, pointing to a book, "is the Horace used by the Right Honourable Thomas Babington Macaulay."

CHAPTER II.

CAMBRIDGE.

When the gray October evenings began to draw in over the Cambridgeshire flats, from all parts of the country men trooped up to Alma Mater. Among these was the young Macaulay. His name had been in the books of the college for some time, and appears in the Calendar published the preceding March. There is this great difference between a small college and a large college. In a small college, freshmen instinctively herd together; and if it is a place noted for much good fellowship, all the men in course of time come to possess a passing acquaintance. In a large college it is different. A man only knows such men as he knew before he came up, or such as he brings introductions to, or a few with whom he is accidentally thrown in contact at hall or lecture. Among the freshmen of the year it is usual enough to discuss those who are supposed likely to distinguish themselves. The Senior Wrangler or Senior Classic is frequently designated three years before the event. With Macaulay at college was another Macaulay, the son of the Vicar of Rothley, who had greatly distinguished himself at Rugby. His relations, the Babingtons, have a curious privilege at Trinity College. There are a set of rooms preserved for Babingtons only, and can only be occupied, through their permission, by other men.

The writer in *Notes and Queries* who gives this, is loud in his admiration of the Babingtons. Forty coats of noble and illustrious families decorate their shield—they have four crests, three badges, and a right to supporters!

Macaulay was already designated as the great man of his year. Yet those who only saw his face in repose considered it heavy and unintellectual, and augured little of his talents or success. The tutor to whose charge he fell was Dr. Monk, Regius Professor of Greek, and afterwards Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol. About this time we learn the advent of a new assistant tutor among the dons—the Rev. William Whewell, B.A. It seems that Macaulay's name had been favourably mentioned to the tutor, who paid him the compliment of calling upon him to construe the first passage that occupied the attention of the class of freshmen. It was the chorus that opens the Persæ of Æschylus. We may be sure that the big word, and catalogue of Persian chiefs was translated in an accurate and spirited manner. The set of men among whom Macaulay was thrown were essentially as brilliant a set as ever lighted up old Trinity with mirth and wit. But I am assured by a friend and contemporary of Macaulay—himself a contributor to Knight—that though there were many clever men there, there was only one man, and that was Macaulay, who impressed him with the irresistible belief that he would attain future greatness in the State.

Mr. Perry, another of Macaulay's contemporaries, who was himself highly distinguished at Cambridge, states:* Macaulay came up a decided Tory, and when the whole nation went mad respecting the trial of Queen Caroline was loud in her denunciation. I suspect his

* Contributions to an Amateur Magazine, Appendix iii. By R. Perry, M.A., Latin Scholar of Trinity College, Cambridge.

uncle Aulay had given him no good report respecting her Majesty. Later, however, he became a convert to Whiggism through his acquaintance with Lord Clarendon and his brother Sir Charles Villiers. We are told of his affectionate disposition; that he walks home every day; of his simplicity in giving a whole handful of silver to chorister boys; in eating and talking at breakfast while the gyp was cleaning his boots; in rushing off with the first pair of gloves on the counter in which he could put his hands. It is not often worth while, to use an expression of Mr. Hallam's, to turn the microscope upon the details of private life, but such details (*et ab uno disce omnes*) assist us towards an idea of the simplicity and directness of his character.

It was in October, 1818, when Macaulay was eighteen within a few days,* that he came into residence. In the ensuing Easter he was engaged in the annual examination of the college. He came out in the first class among the freshmen. He appears in the first class with nine others, the names being alphabetically arranged.† Among the other names are those of Long, Malden, Baptist Noel, and Richard Perry. Another distinction fell to his lot, which is, perhaps, the most envied of all the University prizes, and for which there is certainly the liveliest competition. Macaulay obtained the Chancellor's Gold Medal for the best English poem, the subject being Pompeii. The poem scarcely gives promise of future excellence. Some years later, in a short-lived periodical, the *Cambridge Review*, a poem on Pompeii appeared, bearing every mark of being an unsuccessful exercise for the same prize, and being at least as good. The poem was recited by the

* Not in his 19th year, as Dean Milman says.

† Not within, as Mr. Perry states; nor in order of merit, as he infers.

author the day before the commencement, July 5th. It so happened that this day was a great day for Cambridge. The University was honoured with a visit, a day or two before, from the Chancellor. The Chancellor (H. R. H. the Duke of Gloucester), the Duchess of Gloucester, and the Princess Sophia of Gloucester, had arrived in carriages, each with six horses, and the Vice-Chancellor and Heads of Houses had gone in procession to congratulate their Royal Highnesses on their arrival. This was on Saturday. On Sunday, it is recorded that the illustrious visitors went to Trinity Chapel, heard two sermons, went to two entertainments, and gratified the public by walking about Clare-hall-piece in the evening. The following day, after the levee, the Chancellor and the Princesses, with a brilliant company, went to the senate house, where honorary degrees were bestowed upon nearly twenty noble and honourable personages. Before this splendid assembly the young Macaulay was called upon to recite his poem—his first appearance in public life, and a brilliant augury of his future career.

The next year Macaulay tried again for the prize poem. Differing from the rule at Oxford, the successful competitor may compete again, and has three chances. The subject was Waterloo. Macaulay was unsuccessful, to his own great chagrin and the disappointment of his friends. The poem is still in existence, and is really considered a very fair one. The prize was given to Mr. George Eaving Scott, of Trinity Hall, whose performance is of a very average description. A college honour was, however, obtained. A certain Dr. Powis left a prize of 4*l.* to Trinity College for the best Latin declamation. The day after the Audit (Audit of Dec. 13th, and we have all heard of the renowned Audit ale) the successful student delivers

a panegyric on some celebrated character. Silver goblets are also given away for the best English declamations on subjects connected with English history. We are surprised not to see Macaulay's name here. In all probability he tried; but college distinctions, though invariably given with honesty, do not always fall to the best man. He obtained a much more valuable distinction in being admitted a scholar on the Foundation.

The year 1820 is marked by the death of Dr. Mansell, the Bishop of Bristol and Master of Trinity. He had been tutor to the Chancellor, the Duke of Gloucester, when he was a student at Trinity. He was a man reported to have done good service to literature and literary men. Mr. Perceval had given him the see of Bristol, and Mr. Pitt had appointed him Head of Trinity, "in order to correct the disorders which had crept into that society." In the correspondence of Hannah More there is an extremely beautiful letter which he addressed to that lady. He was succeeded by Christopher Wordsworth, with whose historical tastes the young Macaulay must have felt great sympathy, although he never could have accepted the theory of the new Master respecting the authorship of *Ikon Basilike*.

The next year, March 9th, 1821, Macaulay attained almost the highest classical distinction within his reach. Three Craven scholarships of the value of 50*l*. a year each were competed for. There were twenty-five candidates. They were respectively adjudged to George Long, Thomas Babington Macaulay, and Henry Malden, all of Trinity. The names were arranged in alphabetical order, it being the opinion of the examiners that their merits were equal.

The same year he once again contributed the English

prize poem, the subject being Evening. This is really a splendid poem, and we greatly regret that it has not been included in the edition of his *Miscellaneous Writings*. As in the case of all young poets, there is a great deal of imitativeness, conscious or unconscious, of favourite poets. "And I have loved thee, Evening" is manifestly after "And I have loved thee, Ocean," of Childe Harold: this, unimportant in itself, is one of various instances. The reader who would first read Pope's *Eloisa to Abelard*, and then the *Deserted Village*, will see how carefully young Macaulay studied these best models of this kind of verse, and how much he owed to them. We give an extract which is not at all likely to be in the hands of our readers. The reader will recognise at once his intense fondness for literature, and that vein of allusion in which he so much excelled.

"Nor less, enchantress, to thy reign belong
The mines of science, and the flowers of song,
And every glorious deed and thought sublime,
By virtue, or by genius, snatch'd from time.
I love to trim the taper o'er the page
Where lives the mind of poet or of sage.
Then, as that beauteous and imperial Fay,*
Renown'd in many a wild Ausonian lay,
Crowds with fair shapes, and paints, with glorious dyes,
The sparkling azure of Sicilian skies;
And hangs her pillar'd domes and wavering shades,
Her terraced streets and marble colonnades,
O'er the bright waters of that sapphire sea
Which laves thy sunny realms, Parthenope;
So o'er the soul the Muse's spells diffuse
The pomp of graceful forms and lovely hues;
Things uncreated, men unborn appear;
The past is present, and the distant near.
In long array on Fancy's wond'ring eyes,
Visions of beauty or of terror rise;

* *The Fairy Morgana.*

The cauldron,* mantling with the drugs of hell,
The suppliant charms of purest Isabel; †
Or that dire huntsman,‡ whom, with shuddering awe,
The love-sick wand'rer of Ravenna saw:
Now, led by Milton's mighty hand, she roves
Though the dark verdure of primeval groves,
By streams that from their crystal bosoms fling
The gay profusion of unfading spring;
O'er beds of flow'rs, more fair, more frail than they,
She views a form of peerless beauty stray;
Tend the gay fragrance of the nuptial shade,
And twine her locks with many a dewy braid.
The rose-crown'd priest § of love and wine, she sees
Lead his quaint pageant through the moonlit trees.
She roams through proud Duessa's gilded hall; ‖
She melts in anguish o'er Clarissa's pall.
The fabled East pours forth its witching dreams,
Sweet as its gales, and gorgeous as its beams;
The Gothic muse recounts, in northern rhyme,
The sterner legends of a sterner clime;
Her tales of trophied lists and rescued maids,
Of haunted fountains and enchanted glades.
To graver themes shall wit and mirth succeed,
And urge the ling'ring hours to fleeter speed;
Again Parolles shall seek his luckless drum,
And Falstaff jest, and Epicene ¶ be dumb;
The city's champion ** wield his flaming mace,
And dear Sir Roger lead the joyous chace.

He now joined the Union of Cambridge, so called because it is in union with similar clubs at Oxford and Cambridge. In his poem, *St. Stephen's*, Bulwer Lytton has this allusion to it:—

"And every week that Club-room famous then,
Where chicklings settled questions spoilt by men,
When grand Macaulay sate triumphant down,
Heard Praed's reply, and longed to halve the crown."

---

* See *Macbeth*.
† See *Measure for Measure*.
‡ See *Theodore and Honoria*.
§ *Comus*.
‖ Spenser's *Faerie Queen*, book i., canto 4.
¶ See Ben Jonson's *Silent Woman*.
** See Fletcher's *Knight of the Burning Pestle*.

Sir Bulwer Lytton goes on to anticipate for Praed a brilliant parliamentary career, had his life been spared. Those, however, who knew Praed best, and would be naturally disposed to form the highest conception of his abilities, have greatly doubted. In the efflorescence and high spirits of youth, there is much that often passes for genius, but which is unable to stand the test of time and the wear and tear of life. At the same time, there were one or two walks of letters in which Praed shone with peculiar brilliancy. To the Union* Macaulay devoted himself with great ardour, and appears to have given systematic attention, to the study of oratory. Lord Brougham heard, through Lord Grey's son, of Macaulay's celebrity at the Union, and he wrote Zachary Macaulay a somewhat remarkable letter, with which I have no doubt my readers are familiar, containing some wise hints for one who would aspire to oratorical greatness. I suspect that Macaulay, young as he was, could have given Lord Brougham some shrewd hints about oratory and other subjects. I believe most men will be of opinion that Lord Brougham's speeches are not of so high an order of merit as those by Lord Macaulay. The pith of the letter was, that when by any and all means he had gained the power of fluent speech—which is to real oratory what a child's talk is to grammatical conversation—he should study the Greek orators and Dante. Lord Brougham says, that he composed his peroration to the defence of Queen Caroline after about twenty attempts, and the study of a great quantity of Demosthenes, with a success scarcely commensurate to the enormous pains.

* The name has caused quaint mistakes. A local paper once observed: "Boards of Guardians do strange things: the Oxford Union has been discussing the policy of Mr. Gladstone."

My object in mentioning the letter is to point out the attention and carefulness with which Macaulay adopted the advice. Lord Brougham especially recommends Demosthenes and Dante; and young Macaulay forthwith proceeded to study *all* the Athenian orators and the principal Italian poets. He embodied the results of his studies in articles in Knight's *Quarterly Magazine* on "The Athenian Orators," and papers on the principal Italian poets, only two of which, however, appeared—Dante and Petrarch. I am able to give some tolerably fair specimens of Macaulay's Union speeches. In a book now out of print, *Conversations at Cambridge*, there are several published extracts of his speeches. The author of the work, to whom I communicated my intention of making quotations, has obligingly informed me, that they were not taken from anything printed by Macaulay himself; and, after the lapse of so many years, he is unable to name the sources from which they were derived. From the context, however, and the internal evidence, it can scarcely be doubted that they are tolerably fair transcripts of what was actually spoken.

OLIVER CROMWELL.

"Of all the remarkable characters of English history, Cromwell has, I think, met with the most unmeasured judgments. He has been viewed only through the glass of powerful prejudice; and his mental aspect has darkened into terror, or relaxed into beauty, according to the feelings of the beholder. He has been the delight and the scourge, the glory and the disgrace, of the world. Voltaire pronounced him an usurper worthy to reign; Mazarin called him a fortunate fool; Clarendon stigmatised him

as a brave bad man; South saw in him a lively copy of Jeroboam. By one party he was regarded as the champion of liberty, making a passage for the people of God through the armies of the enemy and the principalities of darkness; by the other, as a master of hypocrisy, a bigoted enthusiast, an evil angel of the Apostacy. The voice of hatred has deepened over his ashes. Calumny, sir, possesses in an uncommon degree the property of adhesion; the longer it remains, the harder it becomes; until, in the course of time, the colour of the moral countenance, the very shape and expression of the features, are incrusted and defaced by this leprous pollution. I stand not here, sir, to-night as the advocate or the panegyrist of that melancholy domestic tragedy which was presented before this afflicted nation in that tempestuous season. But, sir, I would ask, Was there no provocation, no exaction? no insult to the dignity of man? no invasion of the sanctity of a Briton's fireside? Sir, the grave of Hampden has a voice; let it answer for me! Tyranny had dashed its mailed hand upon the mouth of every freeman; the life-blood of the laws was drained out by unnumbered wounds. Despotism had uplifted its standard; the hearts of men failed for fear. At this dark and dreary period, all eyes turned to the star of Cromwell, which then began to show itself above the horizon. By many of the most eminent men, of an age fruitful in the highest qualities of the intellect, he was hailed as the servant of Providence, chosen to conduct the agitated kingdom into a happy and honourable repose.

"Milton regarded him as the tutelar divinity of the national freedom; as the incorruptible priest of a new hierarchy; a chieftain who was to rule the empire by his

wisdom, to recall the popular mind to a severer and purer discipline, to vanquish and trample to death under his feet every pleasure and temptation; to bear himself, in short, as one whose meditations were sanctified and ennobled by a peculiar intercourse with his Maker. His first exploits he declared had been against himself; his first victories over his own appetite. Thus had he from his youth been knitting an armour for his soul; and thus enthusiastically did one of the brightest intellects of the age welcome the dawn of what he thought would shine into a glorious morning.* No wonder that Cromwell disappointed such ardent expectations. Never was the founder of a political dynasty placed in a situation of more eminent peril. The voice of disaffection resounded in the camp. On one side were gathered the Anabaptists, with Harrison, once the staunchest and most intrepid friend of the Protector; on the other side lay the Royalists, ever ready to spring upon the usurper. The political Argus needed all his hundred eyes. Even in his chamber the sword hung over his head. But Cromwell possessed in an eminent degree that crowning quality in a politician—decision of character. His sudden dissolution of the Parliament in the January of 1658, was a master-blow of policy. By that single stroke he severed the head of the Opposition, and left it only a paralysed and powerless body. It was well remarked by Warburton, that Cromwell is distinguished from other enslavers of their country: *they* vanquished it when sunk in luxury and pleasure; *he* when every village swarmed with eager and undaunted champions: *they* crept upon her, overcome with the weariness of voluptuous riot; *he* chained her, awake and in perfect vigour. The shadow of his name

* See Milton's *Defensio pro Populo Anglicano.*

was not confined to England. 'He had no sooner made himself sovereign,' said one who spoke with authority, though with something of hyperbolical praise, 'than all the kings of the earth prostrated themselves before him.' Mazarin flattered his ambassador, while the exiled Charles was treated with contempt; Spain congratulated him; Holland struck a medal in his honour; Sweden stretched out her arms to him; Italy, says Burnet, trembled at his name; the pride of the Osmanlis bowed before him. For the sufferings of the Church during the period of puritanical domination, no heart bleeds more than mine. But let the saying of Montesquieu be remembered—every religion which is persecuted, becomes itself persecuting; for the moment when by any accidental change of fortune it rises from the persecution, it attacks the religion from which that persecution came—not as a religion, but as a tyranny. It was not so much against the Church as against the intemperate zeal of her servants, that the fury of the people burst forth. Of the real sentiments of the Protector it would be idle to attempt an examination in this place. It was the opinion of Baxter, who had the best means of forming a correct judgment, that at one period of his life, at least, he was sincere. But, sir, I believe that a thirst for *personal* aggrandisement never yet accompanied true religion. The Christian aims at power—if he aim at it at all—not for his own sake, but for others. Cromwell might at some seasons have been influenced by religious feelings; but the great idol of his heart was Ambition; this, like the Ur of the Chaldeans, devoured all the rest. The greatness of his character every one must admit. The drama in which he played so terrible a part, closed as it opened. Cromwell on his death-bed was the Cromwell of

Marston Moor. The eyes of the dying man rested with feverish anxiety upon that Pillar of Renown which he had erected at such a fearful cost. His last dreams were of glory; his last thoughts upon the opinions of posterity."

LORD STRAFFORD.

"Who ever dashed himself with a more reckless madness from the golden pinnacles of a high and noble fortune, than this apostate from the Commonwealth of England? He appears to have been in politics what his friend Laud was in religion; equally impetuous, equally haughty, equally careless of consequences. The *Strafford Letters* might be called the Confessions of a Tyrant. There we see the qualities of his mind depicted as clearly as the dark pencil of Vandyke has written them upon canvas. This overbearing arrogance was the characteristic of his associates; and they became its first victims. They despised the lawyers, and the Church fell by the law. The fantastic apparitions of Prynne and of Eliot,* from which they thought it the meanest folly in the world to start aside, were among the most terrible appearances that glared upon them in their night of danger and of death.

"Strafford was the victim of a pusillanimous master. What a subject for an historical picture is furnished by the visit of the Secretary Carleton to the chamber of this unfortunate minister, for the purpose of communicating to him the King's signature of the bill! His incredulity, his confidence in the promise of the monarch, and then his final conviction of his master's weakness; his uplifted

* See the *Strafford Letters*.

eyes, his hand upon his heart, and that indignant exclamation of scorn and sorrow, '*Put not your trust in princes, nor in the sons of men, for in them there is no salvation.*' Here are hints for a painter, if, indeed, his trial do not offer a still more inspiring theme. The power of his mind, and the invincible strength of his courage, supported him to the end. During seventeen days, under all the depression of sickness, and in the midst of relentless and triumphant enemies, he continued to defend himself with undaunted valour.

"Thus much I have felt myself bound to declare respecting this extraordinary individual. Would that I could love his character as I admire his genius! But I have done. Far from me, and this assembly, be the imperious bigotry which delights to dig up the skeletons of the departed, only to mutilate and insult them. Never, never, shall the rabid fierceness of polemical hatred cheer me on to such a desecration of the grave; never, never, will I forget what I owe to the cause of truth and the sanctity of our faith. I will strip the dead of nothing but their arms."

On January 19th, 1822, he took his degree as B.A. Macaulay's name does not appear on the class list. He did not try for mathematical honours, and the classical tripos was not yet instituted. In consequence of doing nothing in mathematics, he lost his chance of being Chancellor Medalist—for which he would have had a very good chance—no one under the degree of Senior Optime being eligible as a candidate. The medals fell to his two old competitors, Long and Malden. Mr. Long was *Golden Spoon, i.e.*, last of the Wranglers, and Mr. Malden a middle *Senior Optime*.

He continued at Cambridge, the Craven scholarship

necessitating a certain amount of residence. At this point I discover a notice respecting him which possesses very great interest. According to the will of Mr. Greaves of Falbourne, a prize of ten pounds is adjudged to any junior Bachelor of Arts of Trinity College, who should write the best essay on the conduct and character of King William the Third. Macaulay wrote the essay, and obtained the prize. It is interesting to find that the subject of his earliest writings and the last were the same. It is just possible that his attention being directed in this direction at so early a time, determined his bias towards his future historical studies.

He now became a contributor to the newly-established *Knight's Quarterly Magazine*. This was brought out by a group of Etonians, among whom Praed was most conspicuous, who had come up to Cambridge some time after Macaulay. They had previously conducted with great success a capital publication called the *Etonian*. It is interesting to compare the *Etonian* with its famous Eton predecessor, the *Microcosm*. The *Microcosm* is written after the manner of the old *Spectators* and *Ramblers*,—a brief essay, with a classical motto. The *Etonian* is quite after the model of modern magazines, with most of which it would bear a very favourable comparison. From the very first he was one of the chief contributors to Knight. These papers have been reprinted in the Miscellaneous Writings, with the exception of a few that are known to be his, and a few without signatures which may be suspected to be. Among those consigned to oblivion are a couple of love poems, one of which I shall cite, as a specimen of the kind of verse of the "eyebrows," to which very naturally the young man gave some attention. I am afraid these poems indicate a greater acquaintance with Byron and

Moore than his friend Miss Hannah More would have approved.

" By thy love, fair girl of France,
And the arch and bashful glance
Which so well revealed it;
By the flush upon thy brow,
By the softly-faltered vow,
And the kiss which sealed it;

" By those foreign accents dear,
Whose wild cadence on mine ear
Still in slumber lingers;
By thine eyes of sapphire splendour,
By the thrilling pressure tender
Of thy trembling fingers;

" By thy pouting, by thy smiles,
And by all the varied wiles
Which so sweetly won me,
Laughter, blushes, sighs, caresses,
By thy lips and by thy tresses,
Sometimes think upon me.

" Think upon the parting day,
And the tears I kissed away
From thy glowing cheek;
Think of many a dearer token,
Think of all that I have spoken,
All I may not speak."

From an unreprinted article on the West India Slave Trade, I extract an autobiographical passage. It shows that at this time Macaulay's literary taste preponderated, and that he was anything but the vehement politician he afterwards became.

"ON WEST INDIAN SLAVERY.

"We espouse no party. Zadig himself did not listen to the memorable controversy about Zoroaster and his griffins with more composure and impartiality than we hope to

display on most of the subjects which interest politicians. We are neutrals,—neutrals after San Miguel's own heart; desirous only to mitigate the evils which we cannot avert. If we ever descend into the field of battle, it will be with the feelings not of combatants but of Sisters of Charity. It will be our object not to fight under the banners of either army, but to render the offices of humanity and courtesy to both."

It certainly causes a smile when we recall Macaulay's actual conduct, when "he descended into the field of battle." His encounters with Croker and Peel form an odd commentary.

The volumes of Knight contain many interesting notices of the life of the young Cantab. All the Cambridge scenery and customary incidents are vividly recalled to us; the studious mornings, the companionship of bright and genial spirits, the long gray flats, the renowned avenue of limes at Trinity, the gay festivities of the hall, the solemn twilight and gorgeous ritual of the chapel, the boating party and the wine party, and then a stirring debate at the "Union," and a wind-up with a jolly oyster supper in Petty Cury. Nothing more surely indicates the gigantic powers of Macaulay than the strong hold with which, when so young a man, he seized upon the affections and imaginations of his contemporaries. Two finished portraitures of his character while at Cambridge have appeared, written each of them by a close friend. One of them is to be found in Mr. Moultrie's poems, so remarkable for tender thought and graceful versification, although Mr. Moultrie has signally failed to fulfil the brilliant promise of his youth. Mr. Moultrie's is a most faithful, and occasionally a most unflattering portrait, yet full of genuine truth and affection:—

"Little graced
With aught of manly beauty—short, obese,
Rough featured, coarse complexion, with lank hair
And small gray eyes . . . . his voice abrupt,
Unmusical."

We hope Macaulay felt charmed at the frankness of his good-natured friend. Mr. Moultrie tells us that his brain—

"Endued
With power to shape and mould its gathered wealth
As need suggested, turned with ready tact
Its huge artillery on whatever point
It pleased him to assail—and, sooth to say,
He was not over-scrupulous; to him
There was no pain like silence—no constraint
So dull as unanimity: he breathed
An atmosphere of argument, nor shrank
From making, where he could not find, excuse
For controversial fight.

"Meanwhile
His heart was pure and simple as a child's,
Unbreathed on by the world—in friendship warm,
Confiding, generous, constant; and though now
He ranks among the great ones of the earth,
And hath achieved such glory as will last
To future generations, he, I think,
Would sup on oysters with as right good will
In this poor house of mine, as e'er he did
In Petty Cury's classical first-floor,
Some twenty years ago."

A companion portrait has been drawn of him by his gifted friend Praed, in a similar vein of good-natured banter, affection, and substantial accuracy. We are surprised that no collection of Praed's fugitive pieces, which possess rare merit, has appeared in England. An American edition has of course appeared. We give the extract. We see how generally acknowledged and admired were Macaulay's unrivalled and most universal acquisitions of

knowledge. "Tristram Merton" was the cognomen which he assumed for his contributions:—

"'Tristram Merton, come into court.' Then came up a short, manly figure, marvellously upright, with a bad neckcloth, and one hand in his waistcoat-pocket. Of regular beauty he had little to boast; but in faces where there is an expression of great power, or of great good humour, or both, you do not regret its absence.

"'They were glorious days,' he said, with a bend, and a look of chivalrous gallantry to the circle around him; 'they were glorious days for old Athens, when all she held of witty and of wise, of brave and of beautiful, was collected in the drawing-room of Aspasia. In those the brightest and noblest times of Greece, there was no feeling so strong as the devotion of youth, no talisman of such virtue as the smile of beauty. Aspasia was the arbitress of peace and war, the queen of arts and arms, the Pallas of the spear and the pen. We have looked back to those golden hours with transport and with longing. Here our classical dreams shall in some sort wear a dress of reality; he who has not the piety of a Socrates, may at least fall down before as lovely a divinity; he who has not the power of a Pericles, may at least kneel before as beautiful an Aspasia.'

"His tone had just so much earnestness that what he said was felt as a compliment, and just so much banter that it was felt as nothing more. As he concluded, he dropped on one knee, and paused.

"'Tristram,' said the Attorney-General, 'we really are sorry to cramp a culprit in his line of defence; but the time of the court must not be taken up: if you can speak ten words to the purpose ——'

"'Prythee, Frederic,' retorted the other, 'leave me to

manage my own course; I have an arduous journey to run; and, in such a circle, like the poor prince in the *Arabian Tales*, I must be frozen into stone before I can finish my task, without turning to the right or the left.'

"'For the love you bear us, a truce to your similes; they shall be felony without benefit of clergy; and silence for an hour shall be the penalty.'

"'A penalty for similes!—horrible! Paul of Russia prohibited round hats, and Chihu of China denounced white teeth; but this is atrocious!'

"'I beseech you, Tristram, if you can for a moment forget your omniscience, let us ——'

"'I will endeavour. It is related of Zoroaster, that ——'

"'Zoroaster before ladies! monstrous! You might as well eulogise *couleur de rose* before the President of the Royal Society.'

"'Upon my credit, Frederic, when I look at the faces before my eyes, and the narrow limits within which the officer compels me to run, I almost fancy myself tottering into paradise by the command of Monkir, over Mohammed's narrow bridge, with the houris beckoning from the bank.'

"'Then, for heaven's sake, step straight forward, or you cannot choose but sink by the way.'

"'An algebraist could not travel more scrupulously to his point. Confucius himself ——'

"'To what point you are tending, my dear Tristram, may I die a blockhead if I know; but you have now started from twenty different points of the compass, and are travelling ——'

"'Even as Kehama drove into Padalon!'

"'Oh, that he had chained you to his axle!' said

Frederic, tearing off his wig in a passion. 'Put it all in the book, and begone; for the sober part of our jury have left us, and old time has tolled his longest chime, and my sister is as tired as the chancellor at the close of the session.'"

We now hear of Macaulay's first appearance in London, the great anti-slavery speech at Freemasons' Hall, June 24th, 1824. Almost the opening sentence of his speech —that the cause should not want fresh champions, nor, if necessary, fresh martyrs—was loudly cheered. In this sentence, in all likelihood, he referred to his father, who had recently been exposed to much obloquy, and even persecution, by the supporters of the slave interest. Theodore Hook, in the *John Bull*, had been unremitting in his assaults. The following is a specimen: "Far are we from wishing to ask any question of Mr. Zachary Macaulay, the once needy overseer, now elevated into an opulent merchant, touching the sum of 129,951*l.* 11*s.* 11*d.* paid to him on account of Sierra Leone; nor do we mean to inquire how much philanthropy was blended in the exertion to capture negroes for which upwards of 275,000*l.* has been paid by government." We are told that notice of action was once given, but it was probably thought that the attack was too absurd to be noticed. After the dissolution of the company, there was a commercial house, at Sierra Leone, of Babington and Macaulay.

Of the meeting at Freemasons' Hall and of Macaulay's speech there is not the slightest notice in the *Times*. In the *Morning Chronicle* of next day a page is devoted to a very full report. By a mistake he is called Mr. J. Macaulay, instead of T. B. "Loud and immense cheering" greeted the conclusion. The reporter adds, "the honourable gentleman (Why is he called honourable?) sat

down amid the repeated plaudits of the meeting. This very eloquent address, of which our limits permit us to give but an extract, evidently produced a very strong impression on the meeting." In the paragraphs that then did duty as leading articles, the speech is alluded to—"The able and eloquent speech of Mr. J. Macaulay, a son of Mr. Zachary Macaulay, a youth of whom high expectations have been formed, which he will not disappoint, cannot fail to produce a strong impression on all who read the report of it." The writer calls attention to the allusion to the English children at the Roman slave market, as "a most happy one."

In October of the same year he was elected Fellow of Trinity.

CHAPTER III.

THE EDINBURGH REVIEWER.

A FEW words ought to be said in reference to the last sentence of the last chapter. A Fellowship at Trinity is always the goal of a Trinity man's academical ambition. Those who have ever perused the papers set for the Trinity Fellowship examinations, must have been struck with the enormous grasp of subject, as well as the extreme minuteness of detail, which they require. So far as I am aware, no other examination is so difficult, and no other examination produces papers from the candidates of so high an order of merit. There are few distinctions so splendid and useful as those acquired in this way. Though Oxford travels far into paths on which Cambridge scarcely enters,—philosophy and history,—yet, in the classical field I imagine that the palm must rest with Cambridge for accurate and refined scholarship, and a Trinity Fellowship is the highest distinction of the kind which Cambridge can confer.

For nearly three years after taking his degree Macaulay would have to read assiduously for this distinction. This would enable him to perfect what must always be the unripened scholarship of the undergraduate course, to carry out in a satisfactory manner the line of reading on which he had entered; and, as a Trinity Fellowship is a certificate of scholarship and ability, so too it implies the possession of great moral power and strength of character.

Without much steadfastness of purpose and much self-denial, such a distinction can be obtained by no young man. With the utmost clearness of view, Macaulay concentrated his attention on his principal object, and steadily subordinated all other pursuits to this. He was fond of oratory, and would feel much natural pleasure in exercising his natural ability this way; yet it was nearly the end of his undergraduate career before he joined the "Union." From his earliest days he was addicted to literature, and knew the absorbing pleasure of the pursuit; yet it was not till after he had taken his degree that he became a contributor to the periodical press. Other men, even while at college, have devoted a preponderating attention to politics or literature, and the subsequent eminence to which they have attained has justified their course. But Macaulay, while eagerly bent on such distinctions, saw that the safest and surest way to them was the path which his University sketched out for him; and though he might linger at the various avenues opened up to him, on the right hand and on the left, he made for the mark with simple directness of purpose.

He often turned his classical studies to excellent account. He demolished a vindication of a passage of Mr. Croker's *Boswell*, by showing that the line from Euripides was corrupt, and asserting the true reading. One of his latest literary employments was to turn a piece from Plautus into Greek comic iambics, and he probably produced a very close approximation to what Menander might have written. He always looked back with peculiar satisfaction on his success at Trinity. His Fellowship secured him an independence at a time when such is most valuable to a young man, between the times of quitting college and of settling in life. It enabled him to fight

life's battle from a vantage ground. He might therefore well regard with kindly eye those ancient religious and charitable foundations that benevolently foster genius and learning, and feel conscientiously opposed to all attempts to abolish or unduly tamper with such endowments. This was only a small part of his obligations to Cambridge.

After he had secured his Fellowship, three pursuits lay open to the youthful student. He must have felt even then that their claims were contending, and that the chapter of accidents in a measure would determine his choice. The first of these was his profession of the bar, to which he would be called in the course of a few months. The second was literature, to which he was devotedly attached, and in which he had attained high distinction. The third was public life, politics,—and the goal of a young barrister's ambition,—a seat in parliament.

He was called to the bar in February, 1826. His legal career is very briefly sketched. I do not know if he ever took to the course of hard legal readings which Mr. Brougham sketched out for him, but as he has stated that he was no lawyer, most probably he did not. He went the northern circuit, at that time abounding with illustrious advocates—Brougham, Scarlett, Tindal, Williams, Coltman, Alderson, Cross. In reading for this book I thought it as well to look over the circuit reports, the proceedings of the common law courts, and the legal periodicals. I should have been glad to have found that the young barrister had been retained as junior counsel in some celebrated case, such for instance as, when on his circuit, the Wakefields were arraigned for the abduction of Miss Turner, and all England was in a "sensation." It was with a sickening feeling that I looked down the newspaper columns of trials, seeing unhappy wretches sentenced

to death in shoals for sheep-stealing, horse-stealing, house-breaking, forgery, and respited or left for execution in a manner in which no fixed principle is to be discerned, but mostly an arbitrary caprice. Neither in criminal or civil cases does he appear to have obtained any business.

I might have spared myself the trouble. In one of his Indian speeches he has an autobiographical touch on the subject. He was proposing the health of the Calcutta bar. "My own forensic experience, gentlemen," said he, "has been extremely small, for my only recollection of an achievement that way is that at Quarter Sessions I once convicted a boy of stealing a parcel of cocks and hens . . . . . I earnestly hope they will have the good fortune to get more briefs than I did."

When therefore Sidney Smith begged Lady Grey to get the Whigs to make Macaulay Solicitor-General he was only perpetrating a more than usually brilliant joke. His friends made him a commissioner of bankruptcy; a very different office at that time to what it is now. There were then seventy commissioners, and Lord Westbury says they were known by the name of the Chancellor's Septuagint. The value of the appointment was about 400*l.* a year. When he was appointed legal member of the Supreme Council at Calcutta, it was probably felt that what was wanted was not a mere lawyer, but a judicial and statesmanlike mind. Thus much for his legal career.

As soon, however, as he had obtained his Fellowship, he became something of a public character. The *Edinburgh Review* paid him the compliment of praising his speech at Freemasons' Hall, and the *Quarterly* of attacking it. In exaggerated rhetoric he had talked about people "cutting up Magna Charta into battledores," and this and similar language furnished the

reviewer with a sufficient handle. The *Edinburgh* pronounced it "a display of eloquence so signal for care and matured eloquence, that the most practised orators might well admire how it should have come from one who then for the first time addressed a public assembly." The *Edinburgh* was then in want of fresh blood, and Jeffrey was on the look out for clever young men. Macaulay joined the *Edinburgh*, in a fortunate hour for the Review, for Jeffrey, and for himself.

In August, 1825, the article on Milton came out, the first of a long list of illustrious articles. Assuredly Macintosh had written with greater depth, and Sidney Smith with greater wit, and the accomplished editor with a universal grace, variety, and ability. But Macaulay came forth wonderfully combining all these, bristling with point and glowing with eloquence, with an oriental wealth of imagery and illustration, and evidencing a superior judgment presiding over vast stores of erudition. The article received extreme attention. Robert Hall, aged and diseased, was found lying on the floor, learning Italian, that he might be enabled to judge of the parallel drawn between Milton and Dante. Mr. Murray declared that it would be worth the copyright of *Childe Harold* to have Macaulay of Trinity on the staff of the *Quarterly*. The great writer himself has declared the paper overladen with gaudy ornament, and that there was scarcely a paragraph which his matured judgment approved of. Written when he was a young man, it is an article which to young men will always be peculiarly attractive. I think they would very unwillingly see either substantives or adjectives disturbed. I gratefully recollect the enthusiasm of delight with which I myself first read this paper, when a very young man, and the infinite good it did me, according

to the measure of the recipient, in encouraging and directing my own reading.

Considering the vast repute of the first article, rather a long time was allowed to elapse before a second appeared. In March, 1827, the paper on Machiavelli appeared. We are told that it was greatly admired at the time for "its depth of thought and terseness of expression." I have for many years had a suspicion that the whole theory propounded of the character of Machiavelli is a mistaken one. It is no part of my business, on the present occasion, to review this famous review, but it is a theme which might well be recommended to a controversial writer. Macaulay then essayed a path which has been pushed of late years to an extreme extent, of giving an entirely new reading to the generally received version of an historical character. The historical student must now always hold his opinions in solution, expecting that some ingenious advocate may be ransacking state papers to prove that Henry VIII. was a mild monarch, whose only fault was his uxoriousness; or that Richard III. was a model uncle, and that that little affair in the Tower has been shamefully exaggerated. It is almost to be wished that our courts of literary judicature should establish in such cases a kind of Statute of Limitations.

About the time that this new and brilliant contributor began to take a more active part in the Review, an old and brilliant contributor drew off. Sidney Smith being appointed by Lord Lyndhurst to a canonry in Bristol Cathedral, thought it would not become his position as a dignitary in the Church to write anonymously. I suspect that this again was one of Mr. Smith's sly touches of humour. Dignitaries write in the great reviews, and do not consider themselves in the least degree compromised

by so doing. How can a clergyman be justified in doing a thing before he is a canon, if he is not justified in doing so after he is a canon? The occasion might be a fair one for retiring, but the excuse is not only absurd, but conveys an ill-grounded imputation on others.

In the June number of 1827, a political article occurs entitled "The Present Administration," being a review of Nos. I. and II. of the *New Anti-Jacobin Review*. The article has never been claimed as written by Mr. Macaulay, nor republished as his, except, I think, in some American edition. The internal evidence is, however, irresistible. It is a case of the application of the proverb, *Aut Erasmus aut Diabolus*. In a note the *Edinburgh Review* strenuously denies that it is possible to penetrate the incognito of the writer. In the October number of *Blackwood* for the same year it is openly attributed to him. As the only specimen of a purely political article by Macaulay it is very interesting, and calls for further remark. We must, however, revert to the circumstances under which it was written.

On February 17th, 1827, the Earl of Liverpool, the Premier, was found senseless in his room, holding a letter in his hands. He was in a paralytic fit. This fit proved his political death. It so happened that the letter mentioned was one Mr. Stapleton had written, informing him of Mr. Canning's continued indisposition. In attending the funeral of the Duke of York at Windsor, one bitter cold night at the end of January, the Foreign Secretary had caught a cold, which he vainly endeavoured to throw off. Notwithstanding his indisposition, Canning eagerly prepared to seize the splendid prize within his grasp. Genius, eloquence, statesmanlike accomplishments,—all marked Canning as the new Premier. The King was anxious to retain all his

Ministers, placing Canning at the helm. Various members of the Ministry were opposed to this appointment, influenced doubtless both by public and private motives,—in what proportion it is now difficult to decide. Mr. Peel fully made up his mind to resign in case a First Minister should be appointed favourable to the Catholic claims. The King's own views were decidedly Anti-Romanist, and he was determined to do all he could to promote those views; but he was equally resolved in any case to have Canning as Premier. Accordingly Mr. Canning was gazetted First Lord of the Treasury. A rapid desertion ensued of many of his former colleagues. During the rest of February and the whole of March negotiations were going on respecting the appointments to the vacancies. The Duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel went, and their places were very inefficiently supplied by the Marquis of Anglesey and Mr. Bourn. Lord Eldon, greatly to the relief of suitors in Chancery, ceased to be Chancellor, and his place was supplied by Lord Lyndhurst. Lord Palmerston, as a matter of course, remained in office, and also obtained a seat in the Cabinet. Wetherell went out, and was succeeded by Scarlett as Attorney-General. It was, however, obviously impossible for Canning to get on without aid from the Whigs. Now the Whigs had always looked upon Canning as possessing much in common with themselves. They regarded him very much as the Liberals of the present day regard Lord Stanley. At first a somewhat cold, and afterwards a more cordial, support was afforded by them to Mr. Canning. Brougham and Burdett both supported the new Ministry. The Marquis of Lansdowne became Secretary of State for the Home Department, and office was also conferred on Mr. Tierney, Mr. Wallace, Mr. Abercrombie, and Sir James MacDonald. The

Catholic question was not made a Cabinet question. Of course the coalition did not escape its share of sneers. Lord Mansfield quoted the *Anti-Jacobin*,—"A sudden thought strikes me—let us swear eternal friendship."

The young barrister wrote in favour of the new Ministry. The following are some extracts:—

"We ought to apologise to our readers for prefixing to this article the name of such a publication. The two numbers which lie on our table contain nothing which could be endured even at a dinner of the Pitt Club, unless, as the newspapers express it, the hilarity had been continued to a very late hour. We have met, we confess, with nobody who had ever seen them; and, should our account excite any curiosity respecting them, we fear that an application to the booksellers will already be too late. Some tidings of them may perhaps be obtained from the trunk makers.

"In order to console our readers, however, under this disappointment, we will venture to assure them, that the only subject on which the reasonings of these *Anti-Jacobin* Reviewers throw any light, is one in which we take very little interest—the state of their own understandings; and that the only feeling which their pathetic appeals have excited in us, is that of deep regret for our four shillings, which are gone and will return no more. It is not a very cleanly or a very agreeable task to rake up from the kennels of oblivion the remains of drowned abortions, which have never opened their eyes on the day, or ever been heard to whimper, but have been at once transferred from the filth in which they were littered, to the filth with which they are to rot. But unhappily we have no choice. Bad as this work is, it is quite as good as any which has appeared against the present Administration. We have looked

everywhere, without being able to find any antagonist who can possibly be as much ashamed of defeat as we shall be of victory. . . . . .

"But we must take leave of the *New Anti-Jacobin Review*, and we do so, hoping that we have secured the gratitude of its conductors. We once heard a schoolboy relate with evident satisfaction and pride, that he had been horse-whipped by a Duke: we trust that our present condescension will be as highly appreciated."

"The Duke in question," wrote *Blackwood*, "is Mr. Thomas Babington Macaulay, the son of the East India and Sierra Leone merchant and broker." After some further humorous remarks of this nature, *Blackwood* denounces the article as "low, brutish, crazy, powerless blackguardism," the writer widely overstepping the mark, and injuring his own cause as is the custom of violent people. The writer absurdly calls him "Mr. Vapid!" about the last term applicable.

Those who are interested in tracing similarities of thought and language in different periods of an author's life, would do well to compare a passage in this, one of the earliest of Macaulay's writings, with a passage in the article on Pitt, in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, one of the latest. The internal evidence thus afforded would almost alone determine the authenticity of the article. In the *Edinburgh* of 1827 he writes:—

"There are indeed two Pitts, the real and the imaginary—the Pitt of history, a Parliamentary Reformer, an enemy of the Test and Corporation Acts, an advocate of Catholic Emancipation and Free Trade; and the Canonised Pitt of the legend, as unlike his namesake as Virgil the magician to Virgil the poet, or St. James the slayer of Moors to St. James the Fisherman.

"The haters of reform call themselves Pittites, not choosing to remember that Pitt made three motions for Parliamentary Reform. . . . . The toast of Protestant ascendancy was drunk on Pitt's birthday by a set of Pittites, who could not but be aware that Pitt had resigned his office because he could not carry Catholic Emancipation. The defenders of the Test Act called themselves Pittites, though they could not be ignorant that Pitt had laid before George III. unanswerable reasons for abolishing the Test Act. The enemies of Free Trade called themselves Pittites, though Pitt was far more deeply imbued with the doctrines of Adam Smith than either Fox or Grey. The very negro-drivers invoked the name of Pitt, whose eloquence was never more conspicuously displayed than when he spoke of the wrongs of the negro. This mythical Pitt, who resembles the genuine Pitt as little as the Charlemagne of Ariosto resembles the Charlemagne of Eginhorst, has had his day."

We quote a portion of the conclusion, which is written in a vein of splendid eloquence which may be favourably compared with anything he ever wrote.

"The paroxysm terminated. A singular train of events restored the house of Bourbon to the French throne. The exiles have returned. But they have returned as the few survivors of the Deluge—returned to a world in which they could recognise nothing, in which the valleys had been raised and the mountains depressed, and the courses of the rivers changed—in which sand and seaweed had covered the cultivated fields and the walls of imperial cities. They have returned to seek in vain, amidst the mouldering relics of a former system, and the fermenting elements of a new creation, the traces of any remembered object. The old boundaries are obliterated—the old laws

are forgotten—the old titles have become laughing-stocks —the gravity of the parliaments and the pomp of the hierarchy — the doctors whose disputes agitated the Sorbonne—and the embroidered multitude whose footsteps wore out the marble pavements of Versailles—all have disappeared. The proud and voluptuous prelates, who feasted on silver and dozed amidst curtains of massy velvet, have been replaced by curates who undergo every drudgery and every humiliation for the wages of lackeys. To those gay and elegant nobles who studied military science as a fashionable accomplishment, and expected military rank as a part of their birthright, have succeeded men born in lofts and cellars; educated in the half-naked ranks of the revolutionary armies, and raised by ferocious valour and self-taught skill to dignities with which the coarseness of their manners and language forms a grotesque contrast. The government may amuse itself by playing at despotism, by reviving the names and aping the style of the old court—as Helenus, in Epirus, consoled himself for the lost magnificence of Troy, by calling his brook Xanthus, and the entrance of his little capital the Scæan Gate. But the law of entail is gone, and cannot be restored. The liberty of the press is established, and the feeble struggles of the minister cannot permanently put it down. The Bastile is fallen, and can never more rise from its ruins. A few words, a few ceremonies, a few rhetorical topics, make up all that remains of that system which was founded so deeply by the policy of the house of Valois, and adorned so splendidly by the pride of Louis the Great.

"Is this a romance? or is it a faithful picture of what has lately been in a neighbouring land—of what may shortly be within the borders of our own? Has the

warning been given in vain? Have our Mannerses and Clintons so soon forgotten the fate of houses as wealthy and as noble as their own? Have they forgotten how the tender and delicate woman—the woman who would not set her foot on the earth for tenderness and delicateness, the idol of gilded drawing rooms, the pole-star of crowded theatres, the standard of beauty, the arbitress of fashion, the patroness of genius—was compelled to change her luxurious and dignified ease for labour and dependence, the sighs of dukes and the flattery of bowing abbés for the insults of rude pupils and exacting mothers —perhaps even to draw an infamous and miserable subsistence from those charms which had been the glory of royal circles—to sell for a morsel of bread her reluctant caresses and her haggard smiles—to be turned over from a garret to a hospital, and from a hospital to a parish vault? Have they forgotten how the gallant and luxurious nobleman, sprung from illustrious ancestors, marked out from his cradle for the highest honours of the state and of the army, impatient of control, exquisitely sensible of the slightest affront, with all his high spirit, his polished manners, his voluptuous habits, was reduced to request, with tears in his eyes, credit for half-a-crown—to pass day after day in hearing the auxiliary verbs mis-recited, or the first page of 'Télémaque' misconstrued by petulant boys, who infested him with nicknames and caricatures, who mimicked his foreign accent, and laughed at his threadbare coat? Have they forgotten all this? God grant that they may never remember it with unavailing self-accusation, when desolation shall have visited wealthier cities and fairer gardens; when Manchester shall be as Lyons, and Stowe as Chantilly; when he who now, in the pride of rank and opulence, sneers at what we have

written in the bitter sincerity of our hearts, shall be thankful for a porringer of broth at the door of some Spanish convent, or shall implore some Italian money-lender to advance another pistole on his George!"

Sidney Smith evidently alludes to this article in a letter to Mrs. Meynell, July, 1827. "The worst political news is that Canning is not well, and the Duke of Wellington has dined with the King. Canning dead, Peel is the only man remaining alive in the House of Commons,—I mean, the only man in his senses. The article on the new Ministry is by ————: violent; but there is considerable power in it."

It was probably felt at head-quarters that the article had been too violent. In the next number there is an article on the "Spirit of Party." It is designed "by way of supplement to the article in our last number, which has been in several particulars exceedingly misunderstood in some respectable quarters." In a foot-note it is said, "Among other mistakes we find it ascribed to several persons, eminent statesmen and others, who, if they have ever seen it, which we know not, assuredly never could have seen it before it was published." The subject is however evidently taken out of his hands, or he has withdrawn from it. We miss the "fine Roman hand." Neither this article, nor the one in the ensuing number on the "State of Parties," are by him. It was probably on account of the violent language employed that this article is not given in the Miscellaneous Writings, which reclaimed so many of his scattered productions. There can be no doubt but in his young days Macaulay was an exceedingly violent and one-sided politician. It is well that in days of matured wisdom and tempered feelings

these early ebullitions should be tacitly disowned and forgotten. We do not judge by the same standard the young man and the old man; but in estimating the public career of a great man, these memorable antecedents must be taken into account, as necessary constituents for an entire view. His violent invective was probably due to hasty syllogising. He knew that he was an honest man: a more incorruptible patriot never existed; no amount of stars and garters could make him swerve or falter. He knew also, as do all clever men, that he was himself a clever man. He could not understand therefore how opinions should be wrong that commended themselves both to good principles and good sense. His opponents must either be very stupid people, who cannot understand reason, or very dishonest people, who will not do so. He accordingly proceeded to impale them on the one horn of the dilemma or the other.

On the 2nd of July that year, Parliament was prorogued. Despite the coalition which the *Edinburgh* reviewer had so eloquently defended, Canning felt himself isolated and deserted. The great statesman was irritated, perplexed, and exhausted. After a brief tenure of power of four months he died at Chiswick, where Fox had also died. He was emphatically a great foreign secretary,—as great as Chatham, in a past generation, or Lord Palmerston in ours. His name will ever be associated—in the noblest way in which an Englishman could wish—with the Holy Alliance, with Portugal, and with the New World, which he called into existence to redress the balance of the old. In the renowned hall of Christ Church, the walls of which are thronged with the portraits of illustrious men belonging to that great foundation, there is no portrait that bears the impress of so much genius and sensibility as

Canning's; the portrait of Locke approaches to it the nearest.

It is sad to reflect that, so far as we can venture to think, had Peel remained true to Canning that great and valuable life might have been spared. It is wonderful to think that in two years Peel passed that measure of Catholic emancipation from the apprehension of which he had deserted Canning. We by no means indorse Lord George Bentinck's assertion, that Peel worried Canning to death. The gallant, high-souled, impetuous Minister, though galled by the conduct of his cold and cautious colleague, does not appear to have felt himself treated with injustice. There is something very puzzling in the relations between them. Peel did not attend Canning's funeral, neither did he subscribe to his monument. In the documents published by Sir Robert Peel's literary executors, Lord Stanhope and Mr. Cardwell, disappointing though they are in some respects, there is, we may believe, a complete vindication of the loftiness and integrity of his motives. At the same time there is much that betrays a very peculiar structure of mind, and must render his character a standing enigma in history.

In January, 1828, the article on Dryden appeared, a paper which from fastidiousness or some unaccountable reason he never included in the collected essays. As a curiosity we quote some contemporary criticism from the *Literary Gazette*:—

"In candour we will confess that we have not been able to force ourselves to read this review; we question if any individual in the kingdom has done so; but we have perused enough of it to warrant an opinion, that it is a compound of trite, common-place trash, and elaborate, uninteresting heaviness; that its middle is worthy of its beginning and

ending, the first paragraph and the last being sheer nonsense, and desperate bad grammar to boot." The statement is an ill-natured falsehood.

In the May number appeared his article on history, which was never reprinted during his lifetime. The reason probably was, that a low and unworthy view is taken of history, that everything is sacrificed to effect, picturesqueness, popularity, and success. If it had been inserted in the Essays, as formally embodying his views on history, hostile critics might have made excellent use of it.

To this early period of his connection with the *Edinburgh* are attributed, I think incorrectly, some articles on the West Indies: "By young Tom Macaulay," says *Blackwood*, "who is really a clever lad, though pert and absurd in the highest degree." They are worth reading, but I scarcely think they are his, though some passages have a great likeness to his style.

In September, 1828, appeared the paper on Hallam's *Constitutional History*, and in March, 1829, the first article that appeared respecting Mr. Mill's *Essays on Government*, and the controversy on "the greatest happiness" principle. He sparkled over the subject in a brilliant, flippant manner that must have been amusing and provoking to the deep thinkers of the day. It is a great pity that these articles have been reprinted. Macaulay himself thought it right to apologise for the "unbecoming acrimony" with which he assailed the great historian of British India. It is very well to say that. Mr. Mill is now dead. Respect is due to the memory of a great man, as well as to his feelings. Another objection is that they place Macaulay himself in an unfavourable point of view. Abstract reasoning was never his *forte*.

He indulges in fallacies from which the study of Bishop Butler's writings would have saved him.

In the January number, 1830, there is a paper on political economy — Mr. Sadler's School and Political Economists. This is distinct from the later two articles on Mr. Sadler which have been reprinted, and we can only conjecture the authorship. There can, however, be little or no doubt that Macaulay was the author. The vein of rhetoric and anecdote is peculiarly his. In the same number is a review of Southey's *Colloquies*. As it is only fair the other side should be heard, we give a quotation from the *Noctes Ambrosianæ*,—vigorous, though perhaps a little too broad:—

North. "Southey's *Colloquies* are, in the opinion of young Macaulay, exceedingly contemptible."

Shepherd. "And wha's young Macaulay?"

North. "The son of old Macaulay."

Shepherd. "And wha the deevil's auld Macaulay?"

North. "Zachary."

Shepherd. "What? The Sierra Leone saint, who has been the means of sendin' sae mony sinners to Satan through that accursed settlement?"

North. "The same. But James, as I was saying, Thomas Macaulay informs his fellow-creatures that Robert Southey's mind is utterly destitute of the power of discerning truth from falsehood."

Shepherd. "Then Thomas Macaulay is nather more nor less than an impertinent puppy for his pains; and Maga should lay him across her knee, doun wi his breeks, and haun' ower head with the tause on his doup like Dominie Skelp."

North. "He adds, 'Mr. Southey brings to the task two faculties which were never, we believe, vouchsafed in

measure so copious to any human being, the faculty of believing without a reason, and the faculty of hating without a provocation;' and again 'in the mind of Mr. Southey, reason has no place at all as either leader or follower, as either sovereign or slave.'"

Shepherd. "I wonner, sir, hoo you can remember sic malignant trash."

North. "He's a clever lad, James ——."

Shepherd. "Evidently, and a clever lad he'll remain, depend ye upon that, a' the days of his life. A clever lad thirty year auld and some odds is to ma mind the maist melancholy sight in nature. Only think o' a clever lad o' threescore-and-ten, on his death-bed, wha can look back on nae greater achievement than haein' aince, or aiblins ten times, abused Mr. Southey in the *Embro Review*."

In April, 1830, appeared his review of Robert Montgomery's poems. I have always regretted that this merciless onslaught has been reprinted in every successive edition. The errors complained of have been amended. The serious imputation of dishonest puffing has been categorically disproved and denied. The poem had reached, before the death of its author, its twenty-fifth edition. And it is absurd to suppose that this could have been the case if it had indeed been utterly destitute of merit. Mr. Montgomery distinguished himself as a critic, and as the author of prose works evidencing much thought and reading; above all, as a hardworking and devout minister. It would have been well that this offensive review should have been withdrawn on account of its injustice, instead of being retained on account of its cleverness. The review made a rankling impression on Mr. Montgomery's mind. In one of his sermons he exhorts the young man not to

sink "into the hired assassin of an unprincipled review." Our reader will not fail to be amused by the remarks he has on the subject in a note to his poem on Oxford.

"OXFORD, OR ALMA MATER.

"A few months since an order issued from proprietary head-quarters, for a certain young writer to be immolated in the next number 'of the *Blue and Yellow*.' In obedience to this command several articles were prepared, all of which finally yielded to the one that was inserted, as combining a due quality of venom, with an affectionate candour towards an ill-used public. *Majora canamus*, let us, with modest gaze, approach the 'bright excess' of this surpassing criticism. After a little uncomfortable wriggling, the reviewer works his way into the subject—Puffery. Here, it is painful to add, that two or three pages are pilfered from 'the Puffiad' without any acknowledgment of the offence. After this follows a verbal analysis, rather clumsy and by no means original. The reviewer had evidently seen better days; though accustomed from the blushing dawn of his talents to perform the scrubwork of criticism, still he had occasionally spoken truth, and slept soundly after praising an author. Here, however, was a task of peculiar dirtiness, which threatened to soil even *his* hands, all accustomed as they were to menial offices. He had to grope his way through sixteen pages of lying print, and better men than he might be forgiven for not having accomplished this tiresome duty without some awkward grimaces on the road. The article was a decided failure. There was, of course, a chuckle of delight among authorlings, and a yelp of applause from criticlings. Beyond this nothing was effected. The reviewer is, we believe, still alive, and from

time to time employs himself in making mouths at distinguished men. His style is peculiarly his own :—

> 'For Appius reddens at each word you speak,
> And stares tremendous with a threatening eye,
> Like some fierce tyrant in old tapestry.'"

CHAPTER IV.

THE MEMBER FOR CALNE.

THE commencement of the session of 1820, found Mr. Peel in very much the same position as that in which he had placed Mr. Canning. It had been his misfortune to convert the friendship of his supporters into decided hostility. By his alliance with the Whigs in the cause of emancipation he had gained ample power to effect his measures, but he could only retain it by a reconciliation with his old friends or his old enemies. The remnant of the followers of Mr. Canning, of whom Mr. Huskisson was the most prominent member, might have helped to consolidate the Ministry; and the Duke of Wellington, who had expelled him from the Cabinet, declaring that "there should be no mistake," had probably found that the mistake had been on his own side. It became necessary to propitiate the Whigs, in the same way that Canning had propitiated them,—by a distribution of offices. That the experiment eventually failed is probably owing to the fact, that the offices were dealt out with too niggard a hand. Among the appointments then made was that of the Right Honourable James Abercrombie to be Chief Baron of the Exchequer in Scotland. Properly this preferment ought to have fallen to the Lord Advocate of Scotland, instead of to a retired member of the English Chancery bar. This promotion made a vacancy in the

borough of Calne, for which Mr. Abercrombie had sat as the nominee of the Marquis of Lansdowne. In the month of February he was succeeded by Mr. Thomas Babington Macaulay. Though he owed his seat to the Bowood influence, he entered the House only tacitly pledged to his party, and otherwise a perfectly free agent.

When he had been a member of the House for about six weeks, he made his maiden speech, April 5th, 1830, on the question of the admission of the Jews—according to Mr. Disraeli, the peerage of the human race—into Parliament. Sir James Mackintosh, who succeeded him, declared the speech in every respect worthy of the name he bore. It is indeed an admirable maiden speech. There was no attempt to take the House of Commons by storm; a body that rarely submits to such an operation. Perhaps Pitt and single-speech Hamilton have alone fully succeeded this way; the attempt was fatal to Praed, to Sir Daniel Sandford, and almost to Disraeli. The speech was clear and forcible; a clearness which was almost brilliancy, a force that was almost eloquence, and which grew to be such when he became better acquainted with the temper of the House and his own powers. Leave was given to introduce the bill by a majority of 18, but it was subsequently lost on the second reading. About this time a beginning was made of fresh legislation with respect to India; and a Parliamentary Committee was appointed to consider the whole subject of the charter and jurisdiction of the East India Company.

The next occasion on which the new member addressed the House is only to be found in the journals of the day. Sir Robert Peel had brought in a bill to circumscribe the penalties of death in cases of forgery; he proposed to

abolish it in all cases where due caution had not been exercised by the person injured; retaining it in the cases of wills and all papers representing money. The followers of Sir Samuel Romilly did not believe that the Bill went far enough. Sir James Macintosh proposed as an amendment that the words, "shall suffer death," be left out in all except will cases; a point which, contrary to his own opinion, he yielded to the wishes of his friends. The amendment was seconded by Fowell Buxton. Mr. Brougham and Mr. Macaulay spoke in favour of the amendment; and the Solicitor General (the present Lord St. Leonards) and Sir Charles Wetherell against it. The House divided, and there appeared—

For the Amendment . . .	151
Against it	138
Majority . . .	13

Sir Robert Peel then withdrew from all opposition, and flung all the responsibility upon Sir James Macintosh. He had done his duty, and he hoped the House at no distant day would have reason to repent their decision. The Lords subsequently restored the Bill to its original state, and it was sent back so late in the session, that it was accepted without demur to their alterations. Macaulay's speech was rather brief, but able and emphatic. The great point he urged was the uncertainty of the penalty being executed. If any one should urge that an article in the *Edinburgh Review* about this time on the subject was by him, I should not be able to contradict the notion. I quote from Hansard some extracts from this speech:—

"He admitted that, for certain cases of forgery, involving breach of trust, and the ruin of widows and orphans,

no punishment was too severe. They might deserve roasting at a slow fire, but such individual cases ought not to determine the Legislature to make a general law; neither would it be right with compassionating sentimentality to follow the criminal into the condemned cell, and see him horror-stricken at the fate which awaited him. That would be as improper a basis for legislation, as pointing to an individual who had beggared numerous families and defrauded all who trusted him. The vote he should that night give would be founded on no such grounds, but upon the conviction that if they meant the law to be executed, they must mitigate the severity of it. They could not punish forgery with death, and it was vain for them to flatter themselves they could. They might bring in a paper called a Bill; they might read it three times; they might send it up to the Lords, who might agree to it, and read it three times also; it might receive the Royal assent; it might be sent to the King's printer, and be placed among the rest of the statutes—and then they might say that they had made a law which would punish forgery by death. But if they said so, they deceived themselves; for they would only have added another to the number of those pages in our statute-book which were the scorn of criminals and the disgust of sober men—mere abortions of laws, which were dead before they were born. To make it a law they must get it acted upon; but this, it had been seen, was beyond their power. In the first place, men would not prosecute. It had been said that the Bank of England always prosecuted, and doubtless that was true; but then the Bank was a corporation; and Lord Coke told them a corporation had no soul. The question was, would individual members of society prosecute? Experience had shown

they would not. . . . The learned Solicitor-General told them, that with regard to the punishment of death, the diminution of the chances did not diminish the fear; but allow him to tell the learned gentleman, that the chance even of death might be reduced so low that the fear of death might have very little weight. Besides, men saw these chances differently. For instance, there was scarcely a gentleman in Westminster Hall who would refuse to go out as a judge to Bombay; and a man who could not muster courage enough to fight a duel, would forge you half a dozen acceptances in no time. Yet the climate of Bombay had been fatal to very many; and there was more danger in forging than in fighting duels. But the objection to the law was, as he had before stated, that it could not be executed. The judges, the juries, the witnesses, ay, and even the Secretary of State, too, were against it; for whatever ground the Secretary of State might take in that House, it had been shown that only one-ninth of the persons convicted had been executed. And yet this was an argument in favour of the existing law both by the Right Hon. Gentleman and with the learned Solicitor-General. The latter, too, thought that the ignominy of the punishment was not without most salutary effects; but when the drop fell, amidst cries of 'shame' and 'murder,' all horror of the crime, all dread of the punishment, was lost in disgust at the exhibition."

The question of Parliamentary Reform, which from the time of the war with the American colonies had been before the public, now came into prominent notice. It was no longer a theme for pot-houses, and the ambition of Radicals, but was discussed in clubs and drawing-rooms by nobles and statesmen. A number of plans

were propounded in the House, from the triple proposition of Lord John Russell to the triple proposition of O'Connell. The later proposition was universal suffrage, vote by ballot, triennial parliaments. Lord John Russell moved for a bill to give members to Birmingham, Manchester, and Leeds. Mr. Huskisson spoke on the part of the moderate Tories what proved his last words respecting Parliamentary Reform. He would gladly support such a measure, but was opposed to any extensive change. The conduct of the Duke of Newcastle at this time in reference to the Newark election gave great umbrage, and proved very useful to the Reformers. The Duke, being the owner of Crown lands that belted Newark, had such influence with the electors, that he was able to return Mr. Michael Thomas Sadler by a considerable majority over Mr. Serjeant Wilde. The Duke not only interfered in the election, but, notwithstanding the Act, could not understand that there was anything wrong in his interference. He innocently asked, "May I not do what I wish with my own?" words which were never allowed to drop during the whole period of the Reform agitation.

On the morning of the 26th of June, at three o'clock, George IV. died. He was sitting up, and leaning on a page, exclaimed, "O God! this is death!" and so died from the rupture of a blood-vessel in the stomach. There had been the report of an amendment in his health, and the language of the bulletins had been extraordinarily deceptive. He was always getting better. Amid these accumulated betternesses, the nation was wondering why he was not well, when it heard that he was dead. It is said that the unhappy man insisted on seeing the bulletins, and the physicians were afraid to say the truth. In recalling his career—which History, in her

solemn office, will brand as selfishness and guilt—we should remember to how great an extent he was the creature of unhappy and unfortunate circumstances. From the chamber of the dead a contemporary record thus hurries us out into the broad life and roar of open day. It shows how little impression the frivolous king made upon his frivolous subjects. Moore writes in his diary, under June 26th:—"Tempted out from my work by the fine day and the death of His Majesty, both of which events have set the whole town in motion. Never saw London so excited or so lively. Crowds everywhere, particularly in St. James's Street, from the proclamation of the new King being expected before the palace. The whole thing reminded me of a passage in an old comedy, 'What makes him so merry?' 'Don't you see he's in mourning?' Dined at the Lansdownes'; company, Duke of Grafton, the Jerseys, the Morleys, the Vernons, Lord Chancellor, &c. Sat next the Lord Chancellor; much amused by his manner. Was laughing at the state of nervousness Scarlett had got into on the state of the press. Vernon told me that the first account he had of the King's death in the morning was from Botham (Salt Hill), where Vernon and Lady Elizabeth slept; Botham saying to him, when he came down stairs, 'Well, sir, I have lost *my neighbour*.'"

When the King of England was thus called away, the King of France was also about to be beckoned from his throne. The Polignac tyranny had become unendurable. Paris rose in arms against the decrees that virtually abolished the Constitution by the abolition of freedom of the press, and the existing system of representation. At a time which the far-sighted Guizot had pointed out as fraught with perils to the Bourbons, Charles X. issued

these infatuated ordinances. The troops of the line refused to act, and the Guards were forced to retire from Paris. Then came the Glorious Days, with their results—the elevation of Louis Philippe, and the final deposition of the Bourbons. Mr. Macaulay meditated an historical work on this remarkable period. The *Quarterly* speaks of being threatened (such threats are cheerfully borne) with a work on the subject. In one place it speaks of it as the *Restoration of the Bourbons;* and in the British Catalogue of Books it is put down under the title of *Memoirs of the House of Bourbon,* 2 vols., 12mo, 10*s.*, Longman. A large portion of the MS. must have been written; and, if not destroyed, the public would be pleased indeed by such a valuable and important fragment. Lord J. Russell wrote a book-pamphlet on the subject, which has been forgotten.

The French Revolution affected every part of Europe. It was rapidly succeeded by a revolution in Belgium. The separation of Holland and Belgium was effected; the House of Orange was excluded; and there was to be a new King of the Netherlands. The excitement spread to England. It was believed that a nationality had only to rise, and it would obtain anything. The elections went everywhere against the Government. Mr. Brougham obtained his crowning political honour as member for Yorkshire; and a stern antipathy no longer existed against him on the side of the throne. The first duty of the new Parliament was to praise the new King and eulogise the past. The King is dead—long live the King! Mr. Roebuck justly observes, that the language would have been the same if a philosophic Aurelius succeeded a pious Antoninus. The tide was strong against the ministry; and the only question was, when and how they

should fall. The Duke of Wellington was held up to the public as a Polignac or a Metternich. Mr. Brougham sought to transfer a measure of this obloquy to Sir Robert Peel. "Him I accuse not," he exclaimed in the House; but pointing to the Treasury Bench, "I accuse you—I accuse his flatterers—those mean, fawning parasites." At once rose Sir Robert Peel, and in grave, indignant tones, demanded if the honourable and learned gentleman accused him of being a fawning parasite. Mr. Brougham at once saw his mistake, and retracted. With great coolness and address, Sir Robert said that the retractation was hardly sufficient, and virtually dictated a complete one, which Mr. Brougham most properly adopted.

Brougham, however, designed to slay the ministry. He had given notice on the first night, that in a fortnight he should bring forward the question of Parliamentary Reform. Now occurred the memorable episode of Lord Mayor's Day—a subject which ever afterwards was most exasperating to the Duke. As is customary on a new reign, the King was to dine at the Mansion House with Alderman Key, the Lord Mayor elect; and the Alderman sent a letter to the Duke, warning him of "desperate characters," and suggesting a strong military force. The next night Sir Robert Peel sent a letter to the Lord Mayor, stating that their majesties declined visiting the City on the 9th. The utmost panic and consternation ensued. The Funds fell three per cent. There was to be a revolution, and worse than a revolution—a sack. The citizens lined their shutters with iron plates, and renewed their bolts and bars. The impression was created on the Continent that the King of England could not dine in public in his own city in safety. The Duke,

however, thought there was reason to apprehend an attempted revolution; and the flaming ricks which that autumn had illuminated the nightly heavens, did not tend to re-assure him. Severe blame was, however, thrown on the ministers, and hastened their end. Not, however, on Mr. Brougham's grand motion, but by a side-wind they ultimately fell. On a motion by Sir Henry Parnell in reference to the Civil List, they were left in a minority of 29—the numbers being 233 to 204—and went out.

Earl Grey, to whom descended as an heir-loom the inheritance of Whig political interest, was Premier. The only other appointment which we need mention is that of Mr. Brougham to be Lord Chancellor. It was an appointment that caused great scandal. "It is a pity Lord Brougham does not know a little law, for then he would have a smattering of everything." Probably Lord Brougham subsequently regretted the appointment more than anybody else. On the motion for a new writ, Mr. Croker made some remarks on Brougham's statement that no change in the Government could affect him. Mr. Macaulay then involved himself in his first encounter with Mr. Croker—an hostility that afterwards became memorable. He rose to the rescue of Brougham. He made a tart allusion to the same seat being occupied by a Croker and a Brougham, "a seat rendered classic by eloquence," &c. "Was that a time for a member of the House, who would sooner have burned his tongue out than have made such an attack in the presence of that noble person, thus to attack him behind his back?"

Loud cries of "Order, order!" here interrupted the excited speaker. And one honourable member was heard to say, that he had not been afraid of the member for Yorkshire.

Macaulay begged pardon, and said that men who would have shrunk from an encounter when the noble lord was present, attacked him when absent.

Mr. Croker, in his reply, very justly said, that he had never so shrunk; and that it had so happened, that on one occasion he had been opposed to Lord Brougham with greater warmth than ever to any other man in the world.

On one other occasion this session, Mr. Macaulay spoke. This was on the 17th of December, on the West India Bill. He talked a good deal about the periodicals and people; said that he attached more importance to the periodicals, because he was connected with them.

On the 23rd of December both Houses adjourned till the end of February, to enable ministers to prepare their measures. The year closed amid much discomfort and excitement. To add to the gloom of the winter season, the Asiatic cholera now reached our shores, alarming men's hearts with its new and terrible visitation.

This was the close of Mr. Macaulay's first year in Parliament. He might look back upon it with feelings of satisfaction. Though he had not achieved a great reputation, he had made himself known as a clever, and was regarded as a rising, man. He had pleased his father and his father's friends by his advocacy of the anti-slavery cause, and of the mitigation of the penal laws. He had warmly defended his friend the Chancellor. He had done good service to his party by upholding the Jewish claims. He had made solid way in the House, and prepared them for the splendid and remarkable career of the ensuing session, when he leaped to the position of being one of the greatest orators in the House or the country.

On the 1st of March, 1831, Lord John Russell moved

for leave to bring in his Bill. The secrets of its details were preserved with singular circumstances of mystery and fascination to the very last. It is curious how accidents have factitiously invested Earl Russell with the paternity of the Reform Bill. His lordship was not even a member of the Cabinet. In all its details the measure was Earl Grey's. Lord John had not much more to do with it than Mr. Macaulay himself. The scene was very animated, "more so," says the *Times*, "than had been known for many years." While good Sir Harry Inglis made his long speech, members were excited by discussing it in the lobbies and passages. The second night of the debate Macaulay spoke and delivered a speech, which, differing from all others, has become classic, and will be remembered as long as the English language lasts. At the end of its report, the *Times* says, "We regret that the above account presents but a very imperfect outline of the honourable member's speech. The unexampled rapidity with which the greater part was delivered, renders a more detailed account absolutely impossible." Members of all opinions generously vied in the praise of the eloquent orator. The same evening, great speeches were made by the Attorney-General (the late Lord Denman), and the present Earl of Carlisle. Many of the speeches of this memorable debate seem to run in braces, and are very interesting. Thus Sir Robert Peel follows Lord Palmerston, and Mr. Croker follows the Lord Advocate, Mr. Jeffrey,—the *Quarterly Review* succeeds the *Edinburgh*. After this time, however, Mr. Croker always seems to have felt it his duty to follow Mr. Macaulay, and between the two there were sundry passages-at-arms. Mr. Croker insisted that the retention of Calne (Macaulay's) on the list of boroughs was a Whig job, for the Lansdowne interest.

We give a reply of Sir Robert Peel to one of his famous Reform speeches.

SIR ROBERT PEEL.

"I rejoice that I did not follow last night the learned member for Calne—that I was not betrayed by the just provocation, to bitter and acrimonious reply which that speech afforded—a speech commencing with pious exhortations and forbearance, with solemn inculcations of the necessity of temper and moderation, of the oblivion of all party interests and party resentments,—but ending with a bitter philippic against the late Administration, and taunts and insinuations directed against individuals who formed a part of it. Let the honourable gentleman select some other occasion for preferring his charges, and he shall then have our defence, and we shall expect some better proof than his mere unsupported assertion, that we have been the enemies of public liberty. I never made frothy declamations about liberty, but I deny that any act of mine violated that liberty, or diminished the security of that liberty and of its continued enjoyment. Why did the honourable gentleman, after preaching on the necessity of suspending, at least for the present, all party animosities, and enlarging and exalting our minds to a level with the great question of domestic Reform—why did he select this occasion to institute an invidious comparison, between the failure of the late and the success of the present Administration? All was confusion and discord under the late Government. I shall cordially rejoice if the honourable gentleman can prove that his compliments to the present are well merited. Under the present, says the honourable gentleman, there is universal tranquillity and contentment. Painful as the contrast might be, in some respects,

to the late Government, in the absence of that proof I protest against the justice of the learned gentleman's condemnation. This and this only will I state in my own vindication, that during the short period of the last six weeks since the boasted restoration of tranquillity, long after the day-star of Reform had glittered above the horizon, many more lives of the king's subjects have been sacrificed in conflicts with the military and police, than were lost during the whole period of six years in which I presided over the Home Department. I blame not the military nor the police. I blame not those who were compelled by necessity to resort to the last dreadful means of protecting the public peace, but it is too much to expect with these undeniable and notorious facts, that I should acquiesce either in the honourable gentleman's satire or his praise. Ireland, too! the honourable gentleman takes credit for the restoration of peace in Ireland. Let him wait a few short days and he will hear a proposal, founded on the disturbed state of Ireland, for increasing the powers of the Government and adding to the severity of the law. He may then discover that when he shall be next appointed to chaunt the hymn of triumph over the predecessors of the present Government, it will be well for him to omit the strophe which celebrates the tranquillity of Ireland."

After the seven nights' debate, leave was given to bring in the Bill by a majority of one. People in the country absurdly thought that this was a triumph, and began to celebrate it. The formal defeat came soon afterwards, on General Gascoigne's motion. The King was persuaded to dissolve Parliament. Unparalleled scenes were then witnessed in the two Houses. Noble lords were shaking

their fists in each other's faces, and Sir Robert Peel had to be dragged down to his seat by his friends. His sentences were lost amid the boom of the cannon sounding to announce the royal arrival.

The cry throughout the nation was, "The Bill, the whole Bill, and nothing but the Bill!" It is scarcely a novelist's caricature to call it the Bill for giving everybody everything; the popular idea was not very much different. The obnoxious Gascoigne of course lost his seat, and in very good company. On the 4th of July, the second reading of the Bill was moved. In the course of the debate Macaulay made another splendid speech. "It is impossible," on one occasion, said a political opponent, Sir Charles Wetherell, "for the honourable member to make a speech that will not elicit the cheers of all around him." The Bill afterwards passed through committee. The Bill was read a third time singularly enough, without any discussion, in consequence of no one rising till the Speaker had put the question. On the question, "that the Bill do now pass," Macaulay, who had now gained a splendid reputation all over the country, made another great speech. The last night of the debate the House was surrounded by crowds, who burst into cheers which were reverberated through London again and again till morning. The news went flying everywhere into the country. The people believed that the age of gold was come again. Everywhere bells were pealing, and banners flying, and the summer air was filled with music and shouts of rejoicing.

A great topic of Macaulay's speech was adjuring the House of Lords that they should not yield, as yielded the nobles of France, and brought ruin on their country. Mr. Croker, in a speech of great power and ability,

combated the notion, and showed that the French nobles *did* yield, and so *did* bring down the ruin. As it is instructive to review each side of the question, and there is really a danger that Macaulay may carry us by storm, we give an extract from Mr. Croker's speech, corrected for Hansard by himself.

"Did the nobles, on that vital occasion, show that blind and inflexible obstinacy which the learned gentleman has attributed to them? Did they even display the decent dignity of a deliberative council? Did they, indeed, exhibit a cold and contemptuous apathy to the feelings of the people, or did they not rather evince a morbid and dishonourable sensibility to every turn of the popular passion? Was it, sir, in fact, their high and haughty resistance, or was it, alas! their deplorable pusillanimity, that overthrew their unhappy country? No inconsiderable portion of the nobility joined the Tiers État at once, and with headlong and heedless alacrity; the rest delayed for a short interval—a few days only—of doubt and dismay; but after that short pause, those whom the learned gentleman called proud and obstinate bigots to privilege and power, abandoned their most undoubted privilege and most effective power, and were seen to march in melancholy to the funeral of the monarchy, with a fallacious appearance of freedom, but bound in reality with the invisible shackles of intimidation—goaded by the invectives of a treasonable and rancorous press—and insulted and menaced and all but driven by the bloody hands of an infuriated populace. But was this all? Did the sacrifice end here? When the Tiers État had achieved their first triumph, and when at last the three estates were collected in the 'National Assembly,' were the nobility deaf to the calls of the people, or did they

cling with indecent tenacity to even their most innocent privileges? The learned gentleman has appealed to the decayed ceilings and tarnished walls of hotels and *châteaux* where ancient ancestry had depicted its insignia, but which now exhibit the faded and tattered remnants of fallen greatness. Does the learned gentleman not know that it was the rash hands of the nobility itself which struck the first blow against these aristocratical decorations? . . . . . And in that celebrated night which has been called 'the night of sacrifices,' but which is better known by the more appropriate title of 'the night of insanity,' when the whole frame and order of civilised society was overthrown in the delirium of popular compliance, who led the way in the giddy orgies of destruction? Alas! the nobility! Who was it that, in that portentous night, offered, as he said, on the altar of his country the sacrifice of the privileges of his order? A Montmorency! Who proposed the abolition of all feudal and signorial rights? A Noailles! And what followed? We turn over a page or two of this eventful history, and we find the Montmorencies in exile, and the Noailles on the scaffold."

In the House of Lords the Bill was thrown out on the second reading by twenty-one, the number of the bishops who voted against it. Some of the papers came out in black, and aprons and hats were not safe in the streets. Then came a dreadful time. Bristol was fired. It was then as much a time of civil war, as when Prince Rupert and the Parliamentary troops met each other there. There were riots at Derby and Nottingham. Nottingham Castle, the centre of so many historical associations, was burned down, though nothing could impair the beauty of the site. Then came the suicide of Colonel Brereton, the

strong arm of the law in putting down disorder, and the fearful scenes at the assize courts.

After the Bill was thrown out, Lord Ebrington brought forward his resolution expressing confidence in ministers. Mr. Macaulay spoke in a vein of impassioned eloquence, but laid himself open to a charge from Mr. Croker, which subsequent events seemed to justify—of using dangerous language. To give a brief quotation. The ministers had advised the King to create a large number of peers; and being refused, they had tended their resignations.

"He could not but admire the great talents and distinguished eloquence of the learned member, but at the same time he must say, that he could not call his speech of that night anything but a piece of splendid mischief. He felt—who indeed could be blind to the fact?—that these were times of danger; but he believed, with the honourable member for Middlesex, that the tranquillity of the country would be preserved, and that the people would be peaceable, and submit to the law, without the intervention either of the sword or of violent legislative measures; but then he could not conceal from himself that, with the best disposition in the world, one unhappy spark might create an explosion; and he must own that he had seldom heard a speech more likely, if it should reach the populace, to produce that lamentable effect, than the fervid declamation of the learned member for Calne."

The Houses had been prorogued. After the prorogation, for the third time Lord John Russell brought forward the Reform Bill. The debate on the second reading began on Friday, the 16th of December, and continued till the morning of Sunday, the 19th. On this occasion he had a fierce contest with Sir Robert Peel.

We give Sir Robert Peel's reply. We also give one more quotation from the *Noctes Ambrosianæ*. We now look upon these times as a matter of history; but such quotations will assist us in realising the vivid feelings and passions of the last generation.

"Sir Robert Peel said the speech of the learned member for Calne—who, for the fourth time, had thought it desirable to introduce topics unconnected with the merits of the question, and who had addressed himself in a manner purely personal to him—compelled him to adopt a different course; for he should be unworthy of the situation which he held in that House, if he permitted the debate to close without reference to those topics. He thought that the learned gentleman, having already in the three speeches he had made in favour of Reform taunted him on the subject of the Catholic question, might have left that matter at rest. But the learned gentleman again returned to the charge, bursting with all the 'sweltering venom' which had been collecting during the days and nights that had passed since the last attack. . . . The learned gentleman's charge amounted to a charge of gross and corrupt apostacy. He accused him (Sir Robert Peel) of having brought forward, first the Repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts, and, secondly, the Roman Catholic Relief Bill, not from a sense of public duty, but from the mere love of the power or emoluments of office, and the desire to appropriate to himself the credit due to others. He had long been silent under these charges: in the first place, because he did not think that the time had come when he could properly make the necessary disclosures; and, in the second place, because he was conscious of having acted from pure motives, and because he felt assured that the time must come when

those motives would be justly appreciated. . . . The honourable gentleman had said, 'How is it that we can have eyes and not see, ears and not hear, legs and not walk? How is it that all our senses do not convince us that Reform must be conceded?' Would he ask the same question of the Marquis of Lansdowne, who had eyes and ears and legs, but who had neither seen, heard, nor walked, having for years opposed Parliamentary Reform. The honourable gentleman was very severe on all doubt and indecision in matters of public concern. He had been complimented by the learned gentleman for having on the first night of the discussion sung his palinode."

Mr. Macaulay: "I did not mention you; the term was directed to the right honourable ex-Secretary of the Admiralty. All that was meant was, that the right honourable Baronet's party took the whole credit to themselves of measures for the improvement of our systems of jurisprudence, commercial laws and foreign policy, which had been forced on their reluctant conviction by the party now in office." . . .

Sir R. Peel. "How was it, then, that the honourable and learned gentleman was himself still undecided on that important point, the ballot? How did it happen that, like a certain animal (to which he meant by no means to compare him) between two bundles of hay, the honourable and learned gentleman remained still balancing, and unable to decide between two series of arguments."

The following is the extract from the *Noctes Ambrosianæ*:—

"*Tickler.* You will laugh when I say it, but do you know it as a plain simple fact, that this Tom Macaulay put me much more in mind of the Jeffrey of ten years ago, than did the Jeffrey *ipsissimus* of *hodie*.

"*North.* You pay Mr. Macaulay a high compliment—the highest, I think, he has ever met with.

"*Tickler.* Not quite; for it is the fashion, among a certain *coterie* at least, to talk of him as 'the Burke of our age.' However, he is certainly a very clever fellow; the cleverest declaimer by far on that side of the House; and had he happened to be a somebody, we should no doubt have seen Tom in high places ere now.

"*North.* A son of old Zachary, I believe? Is he like the papa?

"*Tickler.* So I have heard. But I never saw the senior, of whom some poetical planter has so unjustifiably sung:—

> 'How smooth, persuasive, plausible, and glib,
> From holy lips has dropped the precious fib.'

The son is an ugly, cross-made, splay-footed, shapeless little dumpling of a fellow, with a featureless face, too—except, indeed, a good expansive forehead—sleek puritanical sandy hair, large glimmering eyes, and a mouth from ear to ear. He has a lisp and a burr, moreover, and speaks thickly and huskily for several minutes before he gets into the swing of his discourse; but, after that, nothing can be more dazzling than his execution. What he says is substantially, of course, mere stuff and nonsense; but it is so well worded, and so volubly and forcibly delivered—there is such an endless string of epigrams and antitheses—such a flashing of epithets, such an accumulation of images and the voice is so trumpet-like, and the action so grotesquely emphatic, that you might hear a pin drop in the House. Manners Sutton himself listens. It is obvious that he has got the main parts at least by heart; but for this I gave him the more praise and glory. Altogether, the impression on my

mind was very much beyond what I had been prepared for; so much so, that I can honestly and sincerely say I felt for his situation most deeply when Peel was skinning him alive the next evening, and the sweat of agony kept pouring down his well-bronzed cheeks under the merciless infliction.

"*North.* The feeling does credit to your heart. Have you read his article on Byron in the *Edinburgh?*

"*Tickler.* Not I. I wonder how many articles on Byron we are expected to read. Is there to be no end to this jabber—this brainless botheration about a case as plain as a pikestaff, and that lies too in a nut-shell?

"*North.* Macaulay's paper is, however, an exceedingly clever thing, and you ought to glance your eye over it. The *Edinburgh* has had nothing so good these many years past. In fact, it reads very like a paper in one of their early numbers; much the same sort of excellences; the smart, rapid, popgun impertinence; the brisk, airy, new-set truisms, mingled with cold, shallow, heartless sophistries; the conceited phlegm, the affected abruptness, the unconscious audacity of impudence; the whole lively and amusing, and much commended among the dowagers."

We now take a more favourable side, and certainly a more impartial one. It appeared in an American paper.

"Last night I went to the House of Commons for a second time, to hear a continuance of the adjourned debate on the final reading of the Reform Bill, and the last great question, 'That the Bill do now pass.' At five o'clock the question came up. The speakers who occupied the floor successively till eight were dull. But from eight till one in the morning we had an uninterrupted torrent of Parliamentary eloquence, rarely equalled in that House

or any other. Excitement in a British House of Commons is a contagion. Let one man get on fire, and he sets all on fire about him. Much, to be sure, was expected on the last reading of the Bill in that body: but one night had been exhausted and little heat—three hours of the second had passed away and all still cool and dull. Spectators grew restive, and members scattered away to lounge, and eat, and smoke, and talk, in the numerous apartments of that huge and ungainly pile of buildings. One would not have thought there were so many of them about. But at eight o'clock a little man of small voice, affected utterance, clipping his words, and hissing like a serpent, succeeded in gaining the floor. On this great question in its early stages, when one member sits down as many as twenty jump up, simultaneously claiming to be heard; and I know not by what rule the Chair decides in favour of one of the many. But after a few moments of clamorous calling to order the question gets settled, and the favoured one goes on to deliver himself of his premeditated impromptus and extemporaneous elaborations. The little man as I said got the floor. 'Mr. Macaulay, Mr. Macaulay!' went quick around among the spectators, in a low but animated voice, evidently showing he was welcomed. Instantly the House and the side galleries filled with members; no one could tell where they came from, but they had evidently been resting, in abeyance to the quickest summons. In five minutes the whole House was in attendance and seated, and it was indeed a pretty sight—they were literally wedged in, the seats being continuous benches, so that doubtless their persons suffered much from compression against each other. The House was still for the first time in the evening, and each fixed his eye on the little man, Thomas Babington Macaulay.

And surely I thought them very simple to be so attracted by so uncompromising a beginning, and utterly perverted in taste to be able even to endure such affected, intolerable elocution. The thoughts, however, and their combinations soon began to indicate a mind beyond the common level. The vices of elocution I began to overlook myself as every sentence he uttered struck up new light around the mighty theme. That which had no interest in the mouth of others, I now began to look upon as worthy of regard. Now a spark, now a gleam, and now a stream of light would blaze away. 'Hear, hear!' but soon hushed for the desire to hear. And yet with all the interest of all the preparations making for an argument, of the masterly connection and disposition of premises, I could not soon be reconciled to the appearance of affectation in his modes of speech, and that intolerable frightful hissing withal. Fortunately, however, these spasmodic symptoms gradually wore off as the fire of argument kindled up his soul, and the more proper shapes of human speech by equal degrees formed upon his tongue and flowed from his lips. In fifteen minutes he had wrapped himself in the Reform Bill as in a mantle, and thrown its brilliant and attractive forms around him in the most graceful and befitting forms, and himself stood up thus invested, challenging and receiving universal admiration. I will not dare to quote a single sentence, nor give an example of his reasoning. Barrow's 'Mirror of Parliament' will doubtless send that speech down to posterity in its own simple and proper form; and if the world does not accord to it the praise of one of the most brilliant specimens of Parliamentary eloquence, as well as one of the fairest structures of logic, I will consent to be called an enthusiast in this instance, and will be slow to give my opinion again. It

was a perfect triumph, and all felt it to be such. Never did Bonaparte gain a field of battle in a style more brilliant, or with a suddenness more astounding to his enemies. Even the Opposition joined in the roar of applause, meaning it doubtless only for the 'splendid talents of the man.' It was impossible not to feel that the Bill would pass—must pass; that even the House of Lords could not, would not dare to arrest it. I did not measure the time. I never thought of it till it was too late. He probably spoke about forty-five minutes, but it did not seem half that. Besides the frequent interruption of applause, when Mr. Macaulay sat down the House rung for many minutes with peal on peal of approbation, as if they could never be satisfied."

Again the Bill passed through the House, and there was another speech by Macaulay on the third reading, March 19, 1832. There was a grand debate in the House of Lords from the 9th to the 13th of April. On the 14th, throughout the whole of the livelong night, the keen debate went on among heated and haggard men, till the grey light broke in the east; till the first ray of sunrise shot full into the House; till the broad daylight settled over all. Strangers had waited for twelve hours without food or sleep. It was a quarter past seven when the House adjourned. The Reform Bill was passed by a majority of nine.

In Committee, by a majority of thirty-five, the Reform Bill was virtually defeated. The Cabinet demanded a new creation of Peers. The Prime Minister and the Lord Chancellor brought the demand to Windsor. The King wept in refusing, but refused. The Cabinet resigned. Lord Ebrington again brought forward a similar motion, and Macaulay again made a similar speech. For nine

days the nation was without a Government. The country exhibited signs that not remotely indicated civil war. The Duke of Wellington was unable to form a Ministry. It was announced by Lord Althorp that the King was again in communication with him and his colleagues. The Conservative Lords, afraid of being swamped by a large creation, withdrew from opposition, and on the 7th of June that Reform Bill became law—which Macaulay, its most eloquent advocate, to use his own touching words, fondly hoped "would bind up the hearts of a divided people."

CHAPTER V.

THE ELECTION FOR LEEDS.

THE election for Leeds is in many respects unique in the history of elections. Macaulay has himself pointed out what was in several respects the unparalleled nature of the contest. Ever since the early part of the year 1820, when Lord John Russell brought forward a measure that should confer members on Leeds as well as Birmingham and Manchester, the minds of the good people there had been busy with the notion of the election, and they were prepared to throw themselves into any contest that might arise, with an amount of Yorkshire vigour and earnestness proportionate to their long deprivation of constitutional rights. So violently were these election proceedings carried on, that Macaulay once said that the impression upon his mind was that Leeds was always in a storm. In the ordinary case of an election, the canvassing and official proceedings last for a few weeks, or at the most for a few months. In the case of Leeds, the excitement and bustle of the election was extended over nearly a year and a-half. This delay is accounted for by the various delays that took place in the passing of the Reform Bill. Whenever there was an adverse majority, the excitement perceptibly flagged. But when a dissolution had resulted in the return of a Reforming Parliament, or when it was clearly known that there would be

a new creation of Peers, if the House of Lords would not yield to the popular pressure, the flame of civic strife once more burst up brightly and fiercely.

A certain writer has acutely pointed out that that portion of English history with which Englishmen are most connected, and which it most behoves them to know, is practically that with which they have the least acquaintance. With the history that is daily being evolved around us, we are all perforce acquainted. With the history that has been recorded for us in the works of great historians, all educated persons possess more or less knowledge. But the history of those times, when our venerable statesmen and politicians played their youthful part, is only imperfectly and inaccurately understood. Such times are too near us to be classical: they are too far off to be familiar. Yet the history of the period of the Reform Bill ought especially to be studied by those, who would comprehend the present condition of the country in the light of historical antecedents. After the adjustment of the claims of the Roman Catholics, the question of the representation of the people became the grand exciting topic of the day, the great constitutional question of the times. If we except the agitation for the Repeal of the Corn-laws, since the time of the Reform Bill party-warfare has been concerned with no so great civic struggle. The Corn-law agitation was tame in comparison, and the recent attempts to revive the Reform movement have only been ludicrous parodies of the events of 1830-32. There is no doubt but the proximate cause of this excited feeling was the revolutionary movement in France and Belgium; and in England, the clamour for Reform quite assumed a revolutionary character, and in one instance almost assumed the form of civil war.

The leading men of the town of Leeds appear to have been honestly anxious that their new constituency should be worthily represented. In the first place, local claims were held to be paramount. It was soon agreed by the Liberals that Mr. John Marshall, a large manufacturer, should be their first candidate—the son, too, of one of their best known men. In the course of a week or two Mr. Macaulay's friends began quietly to bestir themselves. A judicious feeler was flung out in the local organ. If they could only procure a clever man that would do them credit in Parliament, a man who had already made some figure there, who was so eminent that he might look to a popular seat, but yet not so very eminent that he would not be glad of the chance, that was the man above all other men whom Leeds would be extremely happy in receiving. Next week an article appeared, pointing out how very remarkably all the desired requisites were combined in Mr. Macaulay. The Leeds Political Union, one of the combinations then very common, approved of the choice, and after a very searching examination into the creed of the candidate, was prepared to do all it could for him.

Even in that hour of their broken fortunes, the Tories were not without a hope that, by means of a coalition, they might succeed in securing one of the seats. They determined to bring forward Mr. Michael Thomas Sadler, late member for Newark. This was the gentleman whose election, secured by the undue influence of the Duke of Newcastle, had caused so much remark at the time. The Whigs of course did not fail to turn this to the best advantage. Their conduct was rather unreasonable, and their opponents of course retorted. Mr. Sadler had succeeded pretty fairly at the time in vindicating himself

from the charge of sharing in the Duke of Newcastle's unconstitutional proceedings. Besides, if he had been the nominee of the Duke of Newcastle, Macaulay had been the nominee of the Marquis of Lansdowne. Besides, Newark was a much more important place than Calne. Newark was to Calne very much what Leeds was to Newark. Calne had only about twenty or thirty electors. All the votes were dependent on the Marquis. The returning officer was his Lordship's butler, and the chairman of the committee was his Lordship's cook. So said the Tories.

The contest was virtually between Mr. Macaulay and Mr. Sadler. The return of Mr. Marshall was comparatively safe. Each side exaggerated its own strength, and absurdly underrated that of its opponent. Each side insisted that it engrossed all the respectability, and designated the other as a rabble. Polite language was employed to do as much harm as possible. They were prepared to like clever men, but now that Mr. Macaulay had come among them, they confessed they were very much disappointed, and could see nothing in him. On one occasion Macaulay inadvertently slipped the expression "the lower orders." It was attempted to make great capital out of this. The creature of the Whig oligarchy had, for once, unwarily given utterance to his real sentiments about the industrial classes. The whole notion was too absurd. I am reminded of an incident that occurred to me some time back. I was talking with an omnibus driver one day, and found that his mind was in a state of great dudgeon and disgust. On enquiry I found that he was thinking of giving notice. "His master had called him the lower orders, and he was not going to be called the lower orders by any man."

It is very interesting to look over the old journals of the time when stage coaches were still running, when the modern leading article was almost unknown, when the Haymarket was still a market for hay. If one could believe all the opposite newspapers said of each other's candidate, a pair of more worthless and degraded men never courted the sweet voices of the multitude. The refined spirit that glowed in the *Eatanswill Gazette* and *Eatanswill Independent*, seems to have animated the *Intelligencer* and the *Mercury*, published at Leeds. Mr. Macaulay was the creature of the Whig oligarchy. He and his relations fattened upon the vitals of the country. He was perfectly ready to sacrifice all principle for another place, at a few more hundreds a year. He was the despised hack of the ministry, and had to do all their coarse work. Again, he was a mere idler, who had a large salary for doing nothing all day long. His writings were a profusion of gaudy verbiage, which would be soon forgotten. On the other hand, his supporters talked of him as "the superhuman member," and used language respecting him which would scarcely befit a Milton and a Chatham combined. They represented Mr. Sadler as a peculiar mixture of the worst elements of the tyrant and the democrat. He was desirous of employing, toward the honest electors, the vilest means of corruption and intimidation. He would deaden their brains with gin, or beat them out with bludgeons. He would, at the same time, be prepared to trample upon honest substance, and to crush honest freedom. To call a man a liar was a common matter, and to hint that he was no gentleman was a matter of course. Probably, those who employed this language would, in after years, look over these old files of newspapers with considerable surprise, and some humiliation. How far they were

mistaken in the exaggerated idea their political animosity had formed of Mr. Macaulay we all know. The invectives against Mr. Sadler were equally far removed from the truth. He was a man of honest aims, and of very considerable abilities. In an advanced old age he retained the respect and admiration of those who knew him, and his boundless exertions in favour of the poor factory children have mitigated an enormous mass of suffering, and have placed his name on the roll of our social benefactors.

I shall not discuss the humours of an election which have been placed variously before the public, from the broad farce of Mr. Dickens, to the almost epic power with which such has been pourtrayed by Sir Edward Lytton in the striking concluding portion of *My Novel.* I should observe, that here as well as in *Ten Thousand a Year* the imaginary elections belong to the same period as this election for Leeds, are tolerably accurate in details, and give a vivid idea of the elections of the last generation, which seem much more exciting than those of the present. At Leeds in all the traditional fierceness raged the battle between the orange and the blue. There was an amusing incident at the outlying township at Bramley. The Whig candidates made a visit there, and a great row ensued. The quarrel was mainly between two rival bands of music. The Bramley people were indignant, not so much that a Whig band had come, as that the local band had not been employed. Mr. Macaulay's band was ignominiously routed, and their musical instruments taken and broken. Many of these election scenes exhibit, on the part of Mr. Macaulay, a power of extemporising a speech, and a readiness and adroitness in reply, such as we should scarcely have expected. During the time of this protracted contest, the reputation of Mr. Macaulay was constantly

receiving splendid additions. Every now and then he made one of his great speeches in the House, or wrote one of his famous articles in the *Review*, and in his Leeds organ both speech and article were duly quoted and lauded, and extracts made of all the complimentary things that were anywhere said about them. The Whigs of Leeds had certainly great reason to be proud of their candidate. And on his side, Mr. Macaulay, amid an amount of confusion and rancour that must have been extremely distasteful, remained faithful to Leeds, and though invitations from other constituencies were forwarded to him, and he might have been returned elsewhere with much less trouble, he never deviated from the path he had marked out for himself.

Indeed, the whole impression left upon the mind by a full acquaintance with the details of this memorable election, is infinitely favourable to our idea of Mr. Macaulay's character. His sturdy honesty and moral intrepidity were rare and noble, and uniformly convey the idea that we are dealing with a character, amid its own peculiar faults, that is truly simple and illustrious. His position was difficult and peculiar, a position where a man of an integrity less lofty might easily err. People called him an adventurer; and using the word in a good sense, in the sense in which the great majority of the best men are adventurers, namely, those who achieve instead of inheriting their fortunes, there can be no fair objection to the term, or anything that can rightly make it invidious. The peculiarity in his case was rather this, that while he relied upon popular feeling, and on the popular side of politics, he primarily owed his fortunes to an aristocratic clique, for whom he might, as standing counsel, be supposed to be constantly holding a brief on a particular side

of questions. The sentiments that might please the Yorkshire mechanics and artizans, might be distasteful to Venetian oligarchs. Macaulay avoided the danger on either side by a rigid adherence to duty, which does infinite honour to his character as a public man. His concsience was almost morbidly sensitive on these points. To give up his close borough, to give up his lucrative office, to give up his great friends, was an instantaneous impulse whenever his convictions and his interests for a moment came into collision. This was his conduct towards the leading Whigs. His conduct towards the people was the same. His object, to use his own words, "was not to flatter, but to serve them." To lose the honour of representing a great constituency, to be exposed to a storm of obloquy, to lose the fairest hopes of fortune and usefulness, was a sacrifice deliberately determined on whenever justice and honesty seemed to point this out. I am acquainted with few prominent characters in the range of English history, who are so entirely free from every trace of political tergiversation. And though he sometimes advocated extreme views, as in the case of the Ballot, it was known that they were the extreme views of an enlightened and cultured mind, and it was felt that under his guidance the path of daring might be the path of safety. I am afraid that he gave up to Party much that was meant for mankind. I think his mind, though never tainted by insincerity, was tinged by party feelings. From many of his conclusions in history, politics, and ecclesiastical matters, as far as I am capable of dissenting, I do most strongly dissent. But remembering this, and having to write as impartially as I can, I think that his political career is a very model for an English gentleman and statesman.

I now come to some of his letters and speeches at the time of the Leeds election. They are, I think, very interesting both as a record of his opinions, and also as helping us to understand the history of his mind. They have, too, some biographical importance.

When a requisition, numerously and respectably signed, was presented to him, he returned the following reply:—

"LONDON, *October 5th*, 1831.

"GENTLEMEN,—It is not easy for me to express the feelings of pride and pleasure with which I have read your requisition, and looked over the long series of respectable names attached to it. The trust which you have offered to me is one which, young as I am in public life, and unconnected as I am with your town, I should have thought it the height of presumption to solicit. It is one which I should consider as an ample reward for a long course of laborious public service. Should you place me in the high and honourable situation of your representative, it shall be my constant endeavour to vindicate your choice by steadily adhering to those public principles to which alone, as I well know, I am indebted for your favour.

"What those public principles are, I need not here state at length. I have to the best of my power supported the Reform Bill introduced by His Majesty's Ministers, and I shall always be ready to support every measure which may appear to me necessary to secure the freedom and purity of election.

"I am firmly convinced that the system of slavery which exists in our colonies is inconsistent with religion, with morality, and with sound policy, and that it is the duty of the Legislature to take measures for the early and complete

extinction of that great evil. Such measures will always have my warmest support. I shall at the same time be ready to concur in every regulation which may be necessary for the protection of those British labourers who are so situated that they can scarcely be considered as free agents.

"A great and extensive reform in the whole system of our civil and criminal jurisprudence ought to be, and I trust will be, the consequence of reform in the representation.

"To mitigate as far as possible the public burdens, and to distribute them judiciously, will be among the first duties of the Parliament. It will be in an especial manner the duty of those who may, under the new system, represent the great manufacturing towns to attack those monopolies by which, far more than by direct taxation, the difficulties under which the country now lies have been produced. I conceive, in particular, that the whole system of the Corn Laws requires a complete revision, and that the vast market of the East ought, with as little delay as possible, to be thrown open to English industry and enterprise.

"A reformed House of Commons will undoubtedly take into its most serious consideration the state of Ireland. I shall assuredly support, to the best of my ability, any measure which may appear to me likely to improve the moral and physical condition of a people suffering under the effects of many ages of misgovernment.

"I trust that it will be in my power shortly to visit Leeds, to return thanks personally to those who have honoured me with their confidence, and to return full and explicit answers to those questions which electors are

entitled to ask of every man who solicits a public trust at their hands. I will therefore at present only repeat, that I feel the deepest gratitude for your kindness, and that if your choice shall fall on me, my time, and whatever talents I possess, shall be devoted to your service.

"I have the honour to be, gentlemen,

"Your most faithful servant,

"T. B. MACAULAY."

In June, 1832, he made a visit to Leeds. He arrived, as we learn, on the 13th, having travelled post from Calne, after his re-election for that borough: he had, of course, travelled all night. Being recognised as he entered the town, he was conducted to the rotunda of the Cloth Hall, where the Committee was sitting; and after receiving their hearty and joyous welcome on his arrival in the town, he drove to the house where he was to stay during the very short time he was able to remain in Leeds. Public and parliamentary business compelled him, we believe, to leave for London the next day. The following is the report of his speech:—

"GENTLEMEN,—I very much fear that it will be out of my power to vindicate before you the kind and too flattering compliments which my friend Mr. Bower has paid me. I am not certainly altogether unaccustomed to public speaking, but on this occasion I feel an embarrassment such as I never have felt before: the extreme kindness and warmth of that reception which I have met with from you quite overpowers me. The pleasure which I feel on this day is no selfish pleasure, for I well know—indeed, it is impossible it should be otherwise—that your kindness to me arises not from personal considerations, but solely from your firm attachment to those great prin-

ciples of which I have been a sincere advocate. From the bottom of my heart, Gentlemen, I thank you for the kindness of your reception, and with all sincerity I assure you that if it shall be your pleasure to repose in me that high trust which, uninvited, I should never have presumed to solicit, but which, when offered, I should think it pusillanimity to decline, I can with all sincerity assure you that you shall receive from me, not flattery, not servility, but faithful, careful, and industrious service. I find it difficult to express my gratification at seeing such an assembly convened at such a time. All the history of our own country, all the history of other countries, furnishes nothing parallel to it. Great deliverances have, indeed, at other times been wrought for oppressed nations, but they have generally been wrought by the sword. They have been wrought in the midst of confusion, agitation, confiscation, and massacre. Look at the great events in our own former history, and in every one of them which, for importance, we can venture to compare with the Reform Bill, we shall find something to disgrace and tarnish the achievement. Look, for instance, at that great event which happened on the 15th June six centuries ago, when the Great Charter was signed. It was by the assistance of French arms and of Roman bulls that King John was harassed into giving that charter. Again, in the times of Charles I., how much injustice, how much crime, how much bloodshed and misery, did it cost to assert the liberties of England! But in this event, great and important as it is in substance, I confess I think it still more important from the manner in which it has been achieved. Other countries have obtained deliverances equally signal and complete, but in no country has that deliverance been obtained with such perfect

peace, so entirely within the bounds of the Constitution, with all the forms of law observed, the government of the country proceeding in its regular course, every man going forth unto his labour until the evening;—in no other country, I say, has such a system of abuse been overthrown, or could it have been overthrown, but by a civil war. France boasts, and with justice, of her three days of July, when her people rose, the military were attacked, the pavements were torn up, barricades fenced the streets, shops filled with arms were attacked, and the entire population of the capital in arms successfully vindicated their liberties. They boast, and justly, of those three days of July; but I will boast of our ten days of May. I will boast of the great victory achieved at the time when the retirement of Ministers left the great offices of state unoccupied. We, too, fought a great battle, but it was with moral arms; we, too, placed an impassable barrier between ourselves and military tyranny; but we fenced ourselves only with moral barricades. Not one crime committed, not one acre confiscated, not one life lost, not one instance of outrage or attack on the authorities or the laws. Our victory has not left a single family in mourning. Not one single tear, not one single drop of blood, has sullied the pacific and blameless triumph of a great people. These events we may look upon with just pride, and in looking at them we cannot but feel hope and confidence for our country, hope and confidence for the human race. When it is said that there is danger in extension of power to the people, I say the very manner in which they have attained it is a proof that they will not abuse it. The firmness, the intelligence, the organization, the constitutional and peaceful spirit, that they have shown, prove that they are entitled to the franchise

21417

that is given to them. On these things I reflect with perfect joy. If we had obtained the Reform Bill by arms, I might have doubted if liberty had not been bestowed on a people not fit yet to use it. Now no such doubt is left. The very manner in which victory has been obtained is a pledge that it will be wisely and honourably used. For, Gentlemen, consider that on the use you now make of the power you have obtained, depends whether that power shall be a blessing or a curse. Gentlemen, you know well that no institutions, no laws, however good, can make freemen of men who are morally and intellectually in bondage. You know that when vice and vindictive passions prevail, bills of rights, charters, and constitutions, leave men as much slaves as they found them. You know that the true secret of all wisdom is expressed in those noble words uttered by divine wisdom, 'If the truth make you free, you shall be free indeed.' I firmly trust, therefore, that the power now bestowed on the English people will be used in a manner honourable to themselves, and tending to promote the public interest. I think I distinctly see before me a long vista of peaceful and happy years, in which the people will be obedient, because the Government is liberal—years during which those who lived by abuses, and those who lived by trading on the discontent which abuses generate, will alike find their traffic destroyed—years during which we shall see the people triumphant over both these classes of enemies, who have of late formed a coalition to destroy the Reform Bill —the enemies of all order, and the enemies of all liberty. Gentlemen, with feelings of the most sincere gratitude, and I may add, of friendship and affection, for that town in which I have received such marks of kindness as I feel I could not deserve, I now bid you for a short time fare-

well. If, as you have given me reason to hope, a permanent connection shall be established between us, it will often be my duty to meet you, and whether we agree or disagree on any public question, I give you my solemn pledge, that nothing in my political life shall make me ashamed to look upon you as I look upon you now."

The following is a report of another speech. We transcribe the bye-play and the incidents, which are interesting and characteristic enough of a contested election:—

"I am perfectly aware, Gentlemen, that I have not merited those signs of kindness and approbation with which a large part of this great community has thought fit to receive me. But of this, Gentlemen, I am convinced, that I have not, from any part of this great city, or from any part of the people of England, merited an unkind or discourteous reception. I am not aware that in any part of my public conduct I have been guilty—(here interruption was occasioned by some person in the crowd addressing an observation to Mr. Macaulay, which he did not distinctly hear; he said)—I should be extremely obliged if the gentleman who makes any animadversions on my conduct will make them openly; let him state what is the charge he brings against me, and I pledge myself to answer it. Gentlemen, the situation in which I stand before you is not one of my own seeking. I never dreamed of soliciting the high and important trust of representative from this great city. But, at the request of many hundreds of persons, I was induced to make my appearance among you, feeling that it would not be modesty, but cowardice, in such times as the present, to avoid a public trust, when that trust is offered by honourable and respectable persons. (Renewed disturbance proceeding from the quarter from which the opposition had proceeded at the

very commencement of Mr. Macaulay's speech.) Gentlemen, I trust I shall not have to ask for a hearing in vain. (Here the uproar was renewed, and became extremely loud, accompanied by demands that the coach on which Mr. Macaulay spoke should be taken to the front of the hustings: this was after some time, and with much difficulty, effected, and Mr. Macaulay then resumed his address.) Gentlemen, your enemies have heard me when I spoke in your cause, and I hope you will hear me whilst I address yourselves. The only charge which malice can prefer against me is that which I have seen in a placard on your walls, namely, that I am a placeman. On that subject I trust you will hear a few words. Gentlemen, is it your wish that those persons who are thought worthy of the public confidence should never possess the confidence of the King? Is it your wish that no men should be ministers but those whom no populous places will take as their representatives? By whom, I ask, has the Reform Bill been carried? By ministers. Who have raised Leeds into the situation to return members to Parliament? It is by the strenuous efforts of a patriotic ministry that that great effect has been produced. I should think that the Reform Bill had done little for the people, if under it the service of the people was not consistent with the service of the Crown. Of the placards against me on your walls, all those which descend to details are directly false. It is not true that I have accepted a place of 1500*l.* a year. Under the former Government a seat at the India Board was little better than a sinecure with 1500*l.* a year; under the present Government it will be an efficient office with 1200*l.* It is not true that there is any patronage, or anything whatever, direct or indirect, which swells the value of the place to 2000*l.* a-year. I will explain to you, Gentlemen,

fully, under what circumstances I accepted office. When that excellent and honourable man, and true friend of the people, Lord Althorp, told me that Government desired to see me in that situation, I told him that I would not have accepted it if I thought it was a sinecure; that on that subject I had made the closest inquiry, and that I had found that, though under former Governments it had degenerated into a sinecure, it might be made a most efficient and useful office, and that on a great question, most interesting to humanity, most interesting to trade, most interesting to every feeling that could interest an honest public man, it would be in my power to render my country greater service in office, than I could as an individual member of Parliament. With such feelings and such wishes, Gentlemen, I have accepted office: I will hold it only while I can hold it with honour. My opinions on all great public questions remain unchanged. I do not deny that on some particular questions it may occasionally be desirable and necessary for official men—as it is desirable and necessary for every man, official or not; who co-operates with others—to suspend or to delay for a time pressing forward things which he thinks most important. That there may be government there must be co-operation; that there may be co-operation there must be compromise. The Reform Bill itself was a compromise. What should we have done if one man, because he was for triennial parliaments—if another, because he was for scot-and-lot suffrage—if another, because he was for district representation—had each brought forward his own plan, and had not united in support of that plan of which we are met this day to celebrate the triumph? On questions, therefore, on which honest men may make a compromise, I will make it, and on no other. But this I

say, that my attachment to the great principles of civil and religious liberty, of freedom of worship, freedom of discussion, and freedom of trade, remains unaltered and unalterable. I accept office because I believe I can act with more efficiency, as I certainly will with undiminished zeal, in support of these great objects. Gentlemen, my claims, such as they are, are before you. I have no disposition to speak of them boastingly, and still less have I disposition to speak disparagingly, in his absence, of any gentleman who may think fit to engage against me in an object of honourable ambition, and in the pursuit of a great public trust. If there is to be a contest at Leeds, whatever may be its course or its issue, to this I pledge myself, that nothing inconsistent with the conduct of an Englishman or a gentleman, nothing calculated to assail private character, nothing of vindictive feeling, nothing tending to leave a pang in the mind of any man after the election is over, shall be done or shall be countenanced by me. Gentlemen, whatever claims I have on your support are of a public, notorious kind. [Here considerable interruption was made to Mr. Macaulay's further proceeding, by a person in the crowd asking Mr. Macaulay what he thought of Mr. Sadler's Factory Bill.] Gentlemen, my answer to that question is, that I agree with the principle of the Factory Bill. Of its details, knowing nothing myself, I am sorry to say, of the particular operation of the manufacturing system on this subject, I am not able to judge. You are aware that a committee has been appointed, selected, I believe, by Mr. Sadler himself (a voice in the crowd 'No, no,')—well, be it so, or be it not, I say that to the principle of the Factory Bill I assent. The details of a measure for protecting children from being overworked, and from every kind of cruelty, I can-

not pronounce upon; I cannot know what is the extent of the evil, till the evidence on this Bill shall be in my hands. It will shortly be in my hands, and I will then give it my best attention. I will give no other pledge than this, that I will assent at any sacrifice to any measure that may seem to me necessary for protecting children from overworking and cruelty; but whether the provisions of Mr. Sadler's Bill be proper and efficient, is a question I cannot determine till I have the evidence before me. This is my answer, and whether it be popular or unpopular, I trust you will think it fair and open. [Here great disturbance and a long interruption was produced by Mr. Oastler pushing forward through the crowd, and insisting on being allowed to ask Mr. Macaulay some questions. Great opposition was made to Mr. Oastler being allowed to speak, on the ground that he was not an inhabitant of the borough; he manifested a determination, however, to be heard, and being seconded by those parties in the crowd who had been listening to his harangues, he struggled to the side of the coach from which Mr. Macaulay was speaking, and at length contrived to get upon it, though at the expense of his coat being torn up to the top of his back. At the same time Mr. Ralph Taylor succeeded, though with much difficulty, in ascending the coach on the opposite side. The roof of the vehicle being now so much crowded as to render standing upon it dangerous, Mr. Macaulay quitted it and ascended the steps of the Cloth Hall, the place from which it had been originally intended that the candidate should speak].

At this period three cheers were given for Mr. Macaulay and three for Mr. Marshall.

Mr. Macaulay, being here very loudly and generally called for, addressed a few observations to the meeting

before it broke up. He said: "Gentlemen, you have heard what are my principles; you have them in writing. I feel I can, with perfect confidence, give you this pledge, that those principles I never will desert. I have held them in bad times, and I shall assuredly not desert them now. Gentlemen, I fully agree with my honourable friend who lately addressed you (Mr. Richardson) in the opinion that the Reform Bill is not an *end;* it cannot, in its nature, be an end; it can only be a means. Reform of Parliament, like all reforms of Government, is good only so far as it tends to promote the happiness of the great body of the people. I am sure that to an assembly so enlightened as this, it must be obvious that the best government cannot act directly and suddenly and violently on the comforts of the people; it cannot rain down provisions into their houses, it cannot give them bread and meat and wine; these things they can only obtain by their own honest industry, and to protect them in that honest industry and secure to them its fruits is the end of all honest government; and the mode in which that end is accomplished is the test by which all governments must be tried. I have never held out to you—you would despise me if I had held out—that there will be immediately, as the results of the Reform Bill, full labour and full meals for all; but this I do say, that by just and wise legislation, by strict economy in every part of the government, by adopting a system with regard to trade that shall give freedom to capital and industry, and open new markets to commercial enterprise; by such a system I firmly believe that the prosperity of the country will not only be restored, but carried to a point far higher than it has ever hitherto reached. I do not, I cannot despair of the fortunes of a people so great, so intelligent as this. When I look, indeed, at the mag-

nitude of our public debt and our public burdens, I see some things to alarm me. But when I remember that burdens far less terrible than these were represented as likely to destroy the nation; when I reflect that two hundred years ago, a debt of twenty millions would have seemed incredible, that one hundred years ago a debt of two hundred millions would have seemed visionary, and that fifty years ago if any person had mentioned the amount of the present debt, people would have said that he told them a fairy tale; when, moreover, I see the industry of the people and their intelligence, which gives that industry fair play,—as we at the present look back with contempt at the statesmen who said that a debt of two hundred millions would be the ruin of the country, so I believe our grandchildren, seeing this country becoming greater and happier, and all her social institutions improving, will smile at the idea that our present debt should be the means of dragging down the nation to destruction. No nation of which the heart is sound, no nation of which the head is clear, can ever decay. I feel perfectly convinced that the Reform Bill will take away the causes which, for years past, have prevented the industry and the prosperity of the country from spreading as it would have done. And if I have the pleasure to see, twenty years hence, the citizens of Leeds gathered in this place, I expect to see this town, which has already done so much and spread so far, and reared such noble institutions—its trade being furnished with wider markets, and its industry stimulated by stronger motives—arrived at a degree of wealth and prosperity such as may now seem visionary to anticipate. Gentlemen, I must instantly, without the delay of a single day, return to Parliament, to stand by those who have stood by us—to help the Scotch and Irish with their

Reform Bills; and I shall carry back with me a stronger motive, if possible, than I have ever before had to promote the cause of Parliamentary Reform, and to further every question that can improve the condition of this great people."

The next extract is highly interesting. It relates chiefly to the religious opinions held by the illustrious historian. An attempt had been made to excite a feeling of dislike against him on the ground that he was a Socinian or a Deist. There are few who will not sympathise with his hearty indignation, and condemn the unprincipled effort to influence the fate of the election by the improper use of these sacred considerations. In reference to the question involved, we may observe that nowhere in his writings is there any definite confession of religious faith, and that among the friends of his family, many of whom were associated with the Evangelical movement of the day, we believe it was a matter of regret that he could not be considered to belong to their body. This is a subject on which we shall not proceed, content with Lord Macaulay's assertion, borne out by a simple, self-denying, charitable life, that he was a Christian. Archdeacon Sinclair, the incumbent of the parish where he died, shortly afterwards made, in a sermon, an interesting statement respecting him.

A person in the body of the saloon exclaimed, "An elector wishes to know the religious creed of Messrs. Marshall and Macaulay."

Mr. Macaulay (hastily rising from his seat).—"Who calls for that?"

Answer.—"I do."

Mr. Macaulay.—"May I see him stand up?"

The confusion that here ensued is indescribable. Mr. Macaulay several times demanded that the individual

should stand upon the form; and his supporters who were around the gentleman insisted that Mr. M.'s wish should be complied with. A number of voices called —"Turn him out!"—"Shame!"—"Hear him!" At length the chairman requested that the person should stand up, that order might be restored.

A gentleman accordingly stood up, who proved to be a local preacher in the Methodist connection.

Mr. Macaulay.—"I must say that I have heard with the greatest shame and sorrow the question which has been proposed to me; and with peculiar pain and sorrow do I learn, that this question was proposed by a minister of religion. I do most deeply regret that any person should think it necessary to make a meeting like this an arena for theological discussion. I will not be a party to turning this assembly to such a purpose. My answer is short, and in one word—I regret that it should be necessary to utter it. Gentlemen, I am a Christian. (Cheers.) Gentlemen, this is no subject for hearty acclamation. I have done; I will say no more; no man shall have to say of me that I was the person who, when this disgraceful inquisition was entered into in an assembly of Englishmen, actually brought forward the most sacred subjects to be canvassed here—who brought forward these subjects to be a matter for hissing or for cheering. If on any future occasion it should happen that Mr. Carlisle or Mr. Robert Taylor should favour any large meeting with their infidel observations against the Gospel, he shall not have it to say that I set the example. Gentlemen, I have done; I tell you, I will say no more; and if the person who has thought fit to ask this question has the feelings of a person worthy of being a teacher of religion, he will not, I think, rejoice that he has called me forth."

Here the confusion was renewed. The chairman called to order several times in vain. At length silence was obtained, and

The questioner said he had not come there with any design of sowing discord. He had heard it thrown out that the candidates were Unitarians—that they were Nonconformists.

Mr. Macaulay.—"I have said that I will say no more than I have said. I will adhere to my resolution. It never shall be said, if my election for Leeds depended on it alone, that I was the first person to introduce a discussion upon such a question as that which the rev. gentleman has introduced here or on the hustings at an election."

The following letters explain themselves:—

"LONDON, *August 3rd*, 1832.

"My dear Sir,—I am truly happy to find that the opinion of my friends at Leeds on the subject of canvassing agrees with that which I have long entertained. The practice of begging for votes is, as it seems to me, absurd, pernicious, and altogether at variance with the true principles of representative government. The suffrage of an elector ought not to be asked or to be given as a personal favour. It is as much for the interest of constituents to choose well, as it can be for the interest of a candidate to be chosen. To request an honest man to vote according to his conscience is superfluous. To request him to vote against his conscience is an insult.

"The practice of canvassing is quite reasonable under a system in which men are sent to Parliament to serve themselves. It is the height of absurdity under a system under which men are sent to Parliament to serve the

public. While we had only a mock representation it was natural enough that this practice should be carried to a great extent. I trust it will soon perish with the abuses from which it sprung; I trust that the great and intelligent body of people who have obtained the elective franchise will see that seats in the House of Commons ought not to be given, like rooms in an almshouse, to urgency of solicitation, and that a man who surrenders his vote to caresses and supplications forgets his duty as much as if he sold it for a bank note. I hope to see the day when an Englishman will think it as great an affront to be courted and fawned upon in his capacity of elector as in his capacity of juryman—in the polling-booth as in the jury-box he has a great trust confided to him, a sacred duty to discharge. He would be shocked at the thought of finding an unjust verdict because the plaintiff or the defendant had been very civil or pressing; and if he would reflect, he would, I think, be equally shocked at the thought of voting for a candidate for whose public character he felt no esteem, merely because that candidate had called upon him and begged very hard and had shaken his hand very warmly. I am delighted, though not at all surprised, to find that the enlightened and public-spirited gentlemen, in whose name you write, agree with me on this subject. My conduct is before the electors of Leeds. My opinions shall on all occasions be stated to them with perfect frankness, if they approve that conduct, if they concur in those opinions they ought not for my sake, but for their own, to choose me as their Member. To be so chosen I should indeed consider as a high and enviable honour; but I should think it no honour to be returned to Parliament by persons who, thinking me destitute of the requisite qualifications, had yet been

wrought upon by cajolery and importunity to poll for me in despite of their better judgment.

"I will now proceed to answer the questions which you have proposed as plainly as I can. To most of them I have formerly replied, and need now only by a simple affirmative. I am convinced the Corn Laws ought to be altered in such a manner as may enable the consumers to obtain cheaper bread; that the strictest economy ought to be observed; that sinecures ought to be abolished; that no pension ought to be henceforth given which has not been earned by public services; that tithes ought, both in England and Ireland, to be extinguished by a fair commutation; that slavery ought to be abolished in every part of the empire; that monopolies ought to be destroyed; that many parts of our municipal system ought to undergo a revision; and that a great and extensive reform in the law, with the view of making it cheaper, clearer, and more rational, is indispensably required. I dislike the taxes on newspapers, because I conceive that in the present state of public feeling they operate not only as a tax on sound knowledge, but as a bounty on profligate and inflammatory publications. I heartily hope that they will soon be taken off. I am decidedly favourable to the principle of a *bonâ fide* property-tax.

"There are some other questions in the paper transmitted to me which require longer answers. You ask me whether I will support 'an equalisation, to a great extent, of the Church Establishment, and a ceasing to compel any one to pay for the maintenance of any particular doctrine which he does not approve?'

"This question seems to involve a contradiction. 'An equalisation to a great extent of the Church Establishment' implies that there is still to be a Church Esta-

blishment; 'a ceasing to compel any one to pay for the maintenance of any particular doctrine which he does not approve,' implies the complete abolition of the Church Establishment.

"There is not, I think, a more perplexing question in the whole science of politics than the question, whether it be or be not desirable that the State should make provision for the religious instruction of the people. In fact it is a question which does not admit of a general solution.

"We must look at the circumstances of every particular case. The Americans, situated as they are, judge wisely in having no established religion. The French, on the other hand, judge as wisely in giving a stipend from the revenues of the State to the ministers of opposite religions. Before we can properly decide what course ought to be taken in England, it is necessary that we should take many circumstances into consideration; the nature of the ecclesiastical revenues; the manner in which those revenues are mixed up with private property; the state of public feeling towards the Church. We ought also to consider whether the dislike which is undoubtedly felt towards the Church by a great and respectable party in the country, be a curable or incurable dislike, whether it proceed from anything essentially bad in the doctrines or constitution, or from corruptions which judicious legislation might remove. These are matters of which I have thought long and anxiously. It would be impossible for me, within the limits to which I must on the present occasion confine myself, to state all the arguments on both sides which have occurred to me. I will therefore simply declare my opinion, without defending it at length. I think it desirable that the Church of England should be

reformed. I do not think it desirable that it should be destroyed.

"I have said that I object to monopolies generally, and I know of no reason for making an exception in favour of the Bank. But as the question relating to that corporation is one which I have not minutely studied, as it is one respecting which very acute and liberal men are undecided, and as it is one which a Committee of the House of Commons is still engaged in investigating, I think it right to suspend my judgment. You must permit me to say that I entertain great doubts about the expediency of establishing a National Bank, to be conducted under the superintendence of the Government, and for the profit of the State. That superintendence would, I fear, be careless, and that profit might turn out a loss. Trading governments have seldom performed well either the business of governing or the business of trading. I throw out these merely as my first thoughts. The subject is one which requires much longer consideration than I have been able to give to it.

"My opinions concerning the ballot are already before you. They are unaltered. I still continue to think that it is the best mode of voting—the mode of voting which most completely secures the elector against the legal coercion of the few, and against the physical coercion of the many; against ejectments on the one hand, and the outrages of mobs on the other. You ask my opinion concerning Triennial Parliaments. I think seven years rather too long a term. But I am inclined to think the term of three years rather too short. At all events, I think that it will be desirable, if the duration of Parliaments is shortened, to abolish the absurd law which provides that a dissolution shall follow the demise of the

Crown; that law has within my own memory, dispersed a Parliament which had scarcely sat a year. But I will frankly confess, that I am not disposed at this time to press the introduction of ballot or any other extensive change in our representative system. We have made a great experiment. Let us pause, at least for a few months, and watch its effects. Till the first elections under the new law shall have taken place it will be impossible to say how much that law may have indirectly done to remove those evils which produced the feeling in favour of the ballot. Till a session or two has passed it will not be easy to judge whether it be or be not necessary that the representatives of the people should be called to a triennial reckoning. The game is in our hands. We are sure that we can, if necessary, follow up the great victory which we have won. The delay of a year is nothing in the life of a nation. The events of a year may teach us inestimable lessons. Of this, however, you may be assured, that I will never shrink from any change, however extensive, which experience may prove to be necessary for the good government of the people.

"I wish to add a few words touching a question which has lately been much canvassed; I mean the question of the pledges. In this letter, and in every letter which I have written to my friends at Leeds, I have plainly declared my *opinions*. But I think it, at this conjuncture, my duty to declare that I will give NO PLEDGES. I will not bind myself to make or to support any particular motion. I will state as shortly as I can some of the reasons which have induced me to form this determination. The great beauty of the representative system is, that it unites the advantages of popular control with the advantage arising from a division of labour; just as a

physician understands medicine better than an ordinary man; just as a shoemaker makes shoes better than an ordinary man, a person whose life is passed in transacting affairs of State becomes a better statesman than an ordinary man. In politics, as well as every other department of life, the public ought to have the means of checking those who serve it. If a man finds that he derives no benefit from the prescription of his physician, he calls in another; if his shoes do not fit him, he changes his shoemaker; if his representatives misgovern him, he can discard them at the next election; but when he has called in a physician of whom he hears a good report, and whose general practice he believes to be judicious, it would be absurd in him to tie down that physician to order particular pills and particular draughts. While he continues to be the customer of a shoemaker, it would be absurd in him to sit by and mete every motion of that shoemaker's hand. And in the same manner, it would, I think, be absurd in him to require positive pledges, and to exact daily and hourly obedience from his representative. My opinion is, that electors ought at first to choose cautiously, then to confide liberally; and when the term for which they have selected their member has expired, to review his conduct equitably, and to pronounce on the whole taken together.

"Consider, too, that the business of a Member of Parliament is the pursuit not of speculative truth, but of practical good; and that though in speculation every truth is consistent with every other truth, yet in practice one good measure may be incompatible with another. It is often absolutely necessary to bear with a lesser evil in order to get rid of a greater. For example, I think the Corn Laws an evil; but if there had been in this

Parliament a hundred or a hundred and fifty members absolutely bound by pledges to attempt the abolition of the Corn Laws, there would have been a division in the ranks of the reformers, the Tories would have triumphed, and I verily believe, that at the moment at which I am writing, Lord John Russell's Bill would have been lost, and the Duke of Wellington would have been Prime Minister.

"Such cases may and will occur again. Some such cases I can, I think, distinctly foresee. I conceive, therefore, that it is the true wisdom of electors to choose a representative whom they believe to be honest and enlightened, and having chosen him, to leave him a large discretion. When his term expires, when he again presents himself before them, it will be their duty to take a general survey of his conduct and to consider whether he have or have not pursued that course which has, under all the circumstances, most tended to promote the public good.

"If the people of Leeds think proper to repose in me that confidence which is necessary to the proper discharge of the duties of a representative, I hope that I shall not abuse it. If it be their pleasure to fetter their members by positive promises, it is in their power to do so. I can only say that on such terms I cannot conscientiously serve them.

"I hope, and feel assured, that the sincerity with which I make this explicit declaration, will, if it deprive me of the votes of my friends at Leeds, secure to me what I value far more highly, their esteem.

"Believe me ever, my dear Sir,

"Your most faithful servant,

"T. B. Macaulay."

"LONDON, *August 10th*, 1832.

"MY DEAR SIR,—I am glad to find that our opinions respecting the Church differ only in appearance. I should say that the incumbent of a Crown living, who is supported by tithes or by the produce of an estate for which the tithes have been commuted, is supported in part by people who differ from him in religious opinions. The fund from which he is paid is the property of the nation. The nation consists partly of Dissenters, but the fund is employed solely to maintain Churchmen. It may therefore, I think, in such a case, be said without impropriety, that Dissenters contribute to the support of a religion which is not their own. You will perceive that the difference between us is merely verbal. As to the substance of the question, we are agreed.

"I was perfectly aware that the avowal of my feelings on the subject of pledges was not likely to advance my interest at Leeds. I was perfectly aware that many of my most respectable friends were likely to differ from me. And therefore I thought it the more necessary to make, uninvited, an explicit declaration of my feelings. If ever there was a time when public men were in an especial measure bound to speak the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, to the people, this is that time. Nothing is easier than for a candidate to avoid unpopular topics as long as possible, and when they are forced on him to take refuge in evasive and unmeaning phrases. Nothing is easier than for him to give extravagant promises while an election is depending, and to forget them as soon as the return is made. I will take no such course. I do not wish to obtain a single vote under false pretences. Under the old system I have never been the flatterer of

the great. Under the new system I will not be the flatterer of the people. The truth, or what appears to me to be such, may sometimes be distasteful to those whose good opinion I most value. I shall nevertheless always abide by it, and trust to their good sense, to their second thoughts, to the force of reason and the progress of time. If, after all, their decision should be unfavourable to me, I shall submit to that decision with fortitude and good humour. It is not necessary to my happiness that I should sit in Parliament; but it is necessary to my happiness that I should possess, in Parliament or out of Parliament, the consciousness of having done what is right.

"Remember me kindly to all our friends, and believe me ever, my dear Sir, yours most faithfully,

"T. B. MACAULAY."

In September he made another visit, and delivered the following speech. He was received with loud and repeated cheers, and addressed the meeting as follows:—

"GENTLEMEN,—I am quite sure that however widely we may differ in opinion, we must all be convinced of this —that the only way to come to a right decision is by fairly hearing every person. Expressions of approbation and disapprobation, of course, every meeting like this is perfectly entitled to employ; but interruption merely for the sake of interruption proves nothing but this, that those who so interrupt are utterly unfit to exercise any deliberative or political function. If the opinions of men are reasonable, discussion will show they are founded in reason; if unreasonable, it ought to be the wish of every rational person to have them corrected by discussion. I should most deeply regret it, if any of those who honour

me with their support were to give the slightest disturbance to my honourable opponent, and the same measure of justice which it is my inclination to show, I fully expect from you that I shall now receive. It is impossible for me to address you from this place, without remembering that the only time I ever was in this hall before was when we met to celebrate the passing of that great measure to which you owe it that you are now entitled to sit in judgment on the claims of candidates. On that occasion I saw this space filled with a crowd of persons who were met to celebrate the triumph of English liberty over good old English fare, and in a true English spirit. I well remember the joy and exultation with which at that time we contemplated the great triumph we had won. It is now for you to decide whether that triumph has or has not been won in vain. The Reform Bill in itself is nothing. All its utility, all its effect, it must derive from the wisdom and virtue of the constituent bodies which it calls into existence. Whatever an administration firmly attached as I believe it to be to the true interests of the people—whatever a House of Commons, which, though elected under the old system, did, I can truly say, coincide with the feelings and wishes of the nation—whatever such a Government and such a House of Commons could do for you, has been done. The rest you must do for yourselves. There is no power in law, there is no power in government, to raise from degradation and distress a people who are false to themselves. It is, it must be, their own work. All that we could do has been to put the power into their hands. It is for them to see that they use it rightly. My friend, Mr. Bower, has asked whether I adhere to the opinions, which a short time ago I gave in writing, as to some of the most important ques-

tions of public policy propounded to me by the Leeds Political Union. Gentlemen, to those opinions I adhere. If you do me the honour of placing me in Parliament, I shall go there determined in the first place to support, in office or out of office—and if in office, it will only be because I believe that I can be of more use to my country than out of office—the principles of civil and religious liberty. I am for peace with all the world, because I believe that on the maintenance of peace, more than on any single circumstance, depend the good government and happiness of nations. I am for peace, because I feel that scarcely any advantages that have ever been obtained by war could compensate to society for that which is the least part of the evils of war—namely, the vast waste of public treasure it occasions. I am for personal freedom in every part of the globe—freedom to the white and freedom to the negro. I am for liberty of discussion, because I believe that without discussion no institutions can make a people permanently free and happy—because, in the best form of government, discussion is still required to secure the good working of that government—and because under the worst forms of government, public opinion has the power to mitigate if not to destroy the evil. I am for religious liberty in the fullest sense of the word; I detest all disabilities—everything which is galling to the conscience or which can shock the sincere scruples of any individual. I know perfectly well that these opinions may be represented, and that they have been represented—I have heard them so represented in the House of Commons—as opinions unfavourable to religion. My opinion is that pious policy is strictly tolerant. We act most in support of religion, and act in a manner most calculated to strengthen the interest of that religion, when we give

universal freedom to religious belief. We hear it said,—and I lately have heard it said in the House of Commons,—that a policy which did not give a decided advantage to one sect over another, was an infidel policy. These words have been echoed and re-echoed in the country. According to this authority, justice is infidelity, and mercy is infidelity, and toleration is liberalism, and liberalism is only another name for infidelity. It is infidelity, it seems, to think worthily of God and justly of his law, and not to encircle with worldly defences that religion of which the weapons are not carnal, and whose kingdom is not of this world. And it is infidelity to direct attacks rather against the evils of gross immorality, than against altars which, though differing from ours in form, are not perhaps heaped with less acceptable incense or kindled with less celestial fire. We must be content to bear this reproach as it was borne by the great men of former days—by Tillotson, Locke, and Sidney; and the only regret we ought to feel when we hear it is, that those men who profess, and perhaps sincerely feel a zeal for religion, should bring disgrace on those truths which are the last restraint on the powerful, and the last consolation of the unhappy. As I am for freedom of discussion and of worship, so I am also for freedom of trade. I am for a system under which we may sell where we can sell dearest, and buy where we can buy cheapest. I firmly believe that by just legislation on commercial subjects, a great part of that distress which the people of this country labour under may be alleviated or removed. And as I am now speaking on commercial subjects, I think it right, without waiting for any questioning, openly and at once to tell you the state of my mind with regard to the question which furnishes mottoes for some of these flags. Gentlemen,

when I last appeared at Leeds, I said distinctly that in my opinion the employment of children in factories required legislative interference. I said at the same time that until there was before me the evidence as to the extent of the evil, and as to the nature of the remedies required, I would give no opinion upon details. Gentlemen, as that evidence is not yet printed, it is out of my power to give a positive opinion as to the extent of regulation which the factory system requires. But, Gentlemen, permit me to say that though I distinctly admit that the employment of children in factories does require regulation, I can by no means admit that those topics which I have so often heard advanced upon this subject, have in them any soundness; and I do say, that if there should be any great expectations of relief from this measure by the lower orders—lower!—I ought to apologise for using the word, for they are lower only because Providence has decreed that some of us should earn our bread by the sweat of our brow;—if the labouring class expect great relief from any practicable measure of this nature, they are under a great delusion. They are confounding the symptoms of the disease with the disease itself. They are acting much in the way a man should act if, when he had a fever and felt hot and uncomfortable, he should think merely of plunging into ice water, in order to get relieved, and should make the fever worse and carry it on to death. I believe the overworking of children, as far as it exists, is not a cause, but an effect of distress. A bad system of legislation, excessive taxation, wars imprudently commenced and imprudently carried on; these things have brought this country into a state in which the labourer and his family cannot live as they can in the United States. I say, that if under these circumstances, instead

of falling on the real causes of the evil, and depending on judicious legislation with regard to trade, and strict economy in the public expenditure, you attack the symptoms which are not the disease; if you merely make a law to say, when laws which now exist render it difficult for a child when working ten hours a day to obtain a subsistence, that it shall not work more than ten hours a day, you are in effect beginning at the wrong end. Against cruelty, against oppression, against the immoderate working of children of too tender an age to judge for themselves, I have as firm and fixed an opinion as any person; and a measure which shall protect them against the rapacity of either master, or parish, or parents, I am determined to support. And now, Gentlemen, before I stop, I must be permitted to say a few words with reference to the candidates who ask for your support. Respecting Mr. Sadler, you will all bear me witness, that when I was here last I never uttered a single syllable concerning him; I did not think it fair to him, I did not think it honourable in me, to make any attack upon him when not present. And I can say with perfect truth, that never since that gentleman was even spoken of as an opponent of mine in the contest for this borough, have I, directly or indirectly, said or written anything whatever to his prejudice. I believe that those with whom I have had most communication in this town will bear me witness that I have never even suggested to them in conversation any topic of attack on Mr. Sadler. (Cheers, and 'It is true.') I have seen it stated, indeed, in a Leeds newspaper, that an attack on Mr. Sadler in the *Morning Chronicle* was written by me. It is false. A wretched piece of buffoonery was put into my hands last night, signed Richard Oastler. That gentleman chooses to assert, that I gave

Mr. Sadler a nick-name. Gentlemen, it is false. Gentlemen, as I am now standing side by side with Mr. Sadler before you, he having the full advantage of the last word, I shall, without the least personal animosity, but in the discharge of a public duty, offer a few considerations to your attention. I ask you then, Gentlemen, whether it be fit that the first choice of this great town, after the passing of the Reform Bill, should fall on a determined opponent of that Bill? I have seen it said, Gentlemen, that we have now only to look forward, the Reform Bill is passed. (A voice in the crowd, 'It is not worth a curse.') I do not believe that those gentlemen who will vote under the Reform Bill, think it is not worth a curse. I know it has been said, we ought only to look forward, that the past is past, and that there is no reason for recurring to the former conduct of any gentleman, that you ought only to look to his present professions. Gentlemen, this is a most convenient doctrine for those who, after having done their best to prevent the victory of the people, desire to come in for the fruits of that victory. This, I say, is a convenient doctrine for those who, after obtaining power under one system by flattering the oligarchy, are desirous to obtain power under another system by cajoling the people. Assuredly, Gentlemen, in such a retrospection there should be nothing vindictive, nothing of animosity. We should not look back for the purpose of vengeance, God forbid; but God forbid, also, that we should not look back for the purpose of precaution. In what manner are you to judge of those who offer themselves to your choice, except by looking at what they have done? If a person has not seen any abuse in the old system of representation, where is he to see abuse? How are you to expect economy from those who have clung to the very

last to the system which was the great source of profusion? How are you to expect a just care for the rights and liberties of the people from those whose political career has been a struggle against those very rights and liberties? With respect to the honourable gentleman who now offers himself to you, it is not my wish to speak with suspicion of his motives, or disrespect for his talents. But he came into Parliament by means of a proceeding which, more than any other proceeding in my time, excited, and ought to have excited, the disgust and horror of the people. I say that he was seated in Parliament by the ejectments of the Duke of Newcastle. You are aware that I speak before Mr. Sadler. Whatever he wishes to deny or justify, it will be in his power to deny or justify. I say that when seated in Parliament by those ejectments, I do not find that Mr. Sadler supported even such a reform as the transfer of the forfeited franchise of East Retford to Birmingham. I find a motion made by Lord John Russell for the lowest reform that could be conceived—which scarcely deserves the name of reform—for giving two members each to the great unrepresented towns of Manchester, Leeds, and Birmingham, without any disfranchisement whatever. I do not find that Mr. Sadler supported that motion. I do know that during the whole of that great contest in which we have been engaged, he firmly and pertinaciously opposed the Reform Bill. And, I say without the slightest personality to Mr. Sadler, speaking as I should of those gentlemen for whom I entertain the greatest kindness and respect, I say, that if there be, as I firmly believe that there are, great abuses still to be corrected, great reforms still to be made, I could not, as a consistent man, give my confidence to any person who has supported that

abuse which was the parent of all abuses, and opposed that reform from which alone we can derive hope of other reforms. Gentlemen, this is what I have to say with respect to my honourable opponent. I say without hesitation, that though you might most easily have found in the ranks of the Reformers a man better fitted to represent your wishes and interests than myself, yet I do say that as against an opponent of reform, I have a right to *demand* your support. Gentlemen, the only imputation against myself which I conceive from the cries I hear in the meeting to have gained any credit, is that I have a place of 1,200*l.* a-year. Now, Gentlemen, will you consider this? I suppose we are all agreed on this point—that we must have a Government. Now, Gentlemen, if you choose to make a law, or wish a law to be made, that all persons who hold offices should hold those offices gratuitously, consider what you are doing. (A voice in the crowd, "You shan't sit in Parliament.") That is another question. I believe you will all agree with me that if the people of Leeds should send a placeman to Parliament, public liberty will be a greater gainer by such a connection than the Administration. I believe that it is desirable that the Legislature and the executive government should be united in this way. I have no fear for the result when you have popular constituent bodies, when you have none but efficient places, and when such places are only paid according to that rate by which labour of the same kind is and must be remunerated in the present state of society. If a law were to be made enacting that the public service should be gratuitous, consider what would be the effect. The offices of State would be exclusively occupied by proprietors, and no avenue would be left by which men who spring from the people—and I

spring from the people—as a distinguished statesman of the present day said, I have always stood and always will stand by my order; and I do say that if you make the regulation that no man shall hold office except he supports it out of his private fortune, no man who has not a large private fortune can be a member of Government. Under such a regulation we should never have seen such men as Lord Brougham, such men as Mr. Fox taking office. I put it to the people of England whether it is their wish to be governed by governments in which there shall be no democratic mixture; in which there shall be no men who have sprung from the people; whether the payment of 4000*l.*, 5000*l.*, or 6000*l.* a-year is not cheap compared with the effect of having no man in office who had not 3000*l.* or 4000*l.* a-year of his own?' Rely upon it, all attempts to take away just and reasonable remuneration from public servants have an effect opposed to public liberty and to democracy. With respect to the particular office that I hold, I can only say, that during the year now coming, it will be one of the most efficient offices of government; circumstances have given it an importance quite disproportioned to its ordinary importance. That great question, so interesting to trade and humanity, connected with the Charter of the East India Company comes on next Session of Parliament, and vast interests connected with the prosperity of England, and of no place more than of the town of Leeds, depend on the decision of that question. You are aware that there live in India under our government a hundred millions of people, for whose happiness we are answerable both before God and man. And I must say that there is no office on which at the present moment lies a heavier responsibility than on that which is called to deliberate upon and carry forward

the measures relative to India. As one gentleman called out that the people of England are paying me 1200*l.* a-year, I beg to inform him that from the people of England I receive nothing. The Board of Control is paid by the East India Company. I allow, Gentlemen, that if the remuneration be unreasonable, it is as unjust to lay the burden on our subjects in India as on the people of England; but before gentlemen make the situation which I hold the topic of invective either in speaking or in writing, it might be as well if they would ascertain, first, the nature of the office; secondly, the amount of the salary; and thirdly, the source from which that salary proceeds. Gentlemen, I do not wish to detain you further. Gentlemen, I feel most deeply impressed with the kind reception you have given me. If you shall think fit to entrust me with the great charge of representing your interests in Parliament, I will, to the best of my power, discharge that most faithfully, so that when the time shall arrive, when I shall return it to your hands, I may be able to look upon you without shame. If, Gentlemen, you shall think fit to send me back into retirement, I shall receive——I have no reason, Gentlemen, to say that the service of the public is a thankless service. I have received from several places besides Leeds the offer to make me a candidate: but I have declined them all, resolved to stake on your favour my chance of remaining in public life. If you shall reject me, I shall return again to my fireside and to my books with perfect contentment; and I am sure of this, that I shall never lose the satisfaction which must attend the consciousness that, during my short public life, I have at least meant and endeavoured well."

The following remarks are interesting on Church property and on taxes on knowledge.

" In my opinion part of the Church revenues is private property and part public property. An advowson which has come by purchase or inheritance into the hands of an individual, seems to me just as much his property as his house. It may be taken from him for public purposes just as his house may be taken from him, in order to make a canal or a railroad, but as in the case of his house, so of his advowson, full compensation ought to be given. There are, however, if I am rightly informed very few advowsons of this kind in Ireland. The revenues of bishops, of deans, and chapters of benefices to which the Crown nominates are in my opinion strictly public property and may without injustice to any human being, be applied by the Legislature to public purposes as soon as the existing interests expire. Almost all the Church property of Ireland is of this latter kind. The revenues of the Church of Ireland are therefore in my judgment public property. [Mr. Macaulay to Mr. Smithson]. You refer particularly to the taxes on knowledge. 'If,' say you, 'your mind is made up for abolition why not say so?' I will most willingly say so. My mind is made up for the abolition of those taxes. But I will not positively pledge myself, to vote for or to bring forward a motion for their abolition; and I think that I can easily show you, why I refuse to give such a promise. You are aware that a motion was made, a few weeks ago on this very subject; it was made by Mr Bulwer, and supported by Mr. Hume, I was then out of Parliament having vacated my seat, by accepting Sir James Mackintosh's place at the India Board. Mr. Bulwer and Mr. Hume were desirous, I believe, of completely abolishing these taxes. But was

the motion a motion of complete abolition?—Not at all.—It was merely a motion for commutation, and a commutation, by no means free from objections. It was proposed to substitute a postage on newspapers for the stamp duty. This postage would have been a tax on knowledge. Yet I think that Mr. Bulwer was not to be blamed for framing his motion thus. He probably conceived that there were many persons who disliked the tax, and who were yet very unwilling to concur in any measure, which might produce a falling off of the revenue. He framed his proposition therefore, not according to his views of what might in itself be desirable, but according to his views of what might be practicable. In my opinion, no member of Parliament can be useful to the public, unless he is at liberty to exercise this kind of discretion and to shape his course with constant reference to existing circumstances."

After the dissolution the real business of the election came off. The candidates were as busy as they could be. A great many speeches were delivered, and it is quite worth while to rescue from oblivion some of these. On one occasion at a meeting in the Free Market, Leeds, Mr. Macaulay said :—

"Gentlemen, having repeatedly declared to you my political opinions both in writing and in speaking here at Leeds and in the out-townships, I think it unnecessary to go again over the ground already trodden, and to repeat at length those opinions I hold and to which alone I can appeal as a title to your favour. But, Gentlemen, since I had the honour last Tuesday of addressing a large and most important assemblage of the electors of Leeds, one or two circumstances have occurred, and some information has been conveyed to me, which renders it expe-

dient that I should advert to particulars which on Tuesday last I was not aware had attracted any attention. It is only within the last hour I have been informed that certain persons have employed against me weapons to which I am not altogether unaccustomed, which in your cause I have often braved, and which in your cause I am ready to brave again (Cheers), those of personal calumny. Electors of this borough have been assured by persons canvassing in the cause of Mr. Sadler, that I am a professed Infidel (Cries of "Shame, Shame"), to this charge I can only answer in those three words in which I have met every charge of our enemies, it is false. (Cheers). I can only request that any elector to whom similar calumnies may be addressed, will have the kindness to ask of those who so slander one who has never injured them, on what facts they rest their statement. (Cheers). I have written much and spoken much, and neither what I have written nor what I have spoken has been altogether unnoticed. Among my writings are some on subjects closely bordering on religious questions, and if it is in the power of any persons to find in all that I have written any expression of which a Christian need to be ashamed, I admit that you will act justly in withholding from me your support. This is all the notice I think it necessary to take of a calumny which will I am convinced recoil on its authors, and prove disgraceful to them alone. I have heard that it has also been objected to me I hold office under the present Government. To this charge I replied when I formerly had the honour of addressing you; if any persons are yet unsatisfied, I have no objection to go more fully into this interesting and important question. When we now hear the argument made use of by the Tories that placemen ought not to be returned by a large constituency,

we naturally inquire what has been their former conduct? I know that Lord Lowther was a Lord of the Treasury, and yet the Tories strained every nerve to return him for the county of Westmoreland. (Cheers). He subsequently became Vice-President of the Board of Trade, yet the Tories reckoned it one of their greatest triumphs, that they again succeeded, in returning him for Westmoreland against Lord. Brougham. I know that Mr. Banks held the situation I now hold, and yet he was brought forward for the votes of a great constituency. I might mention others, ten, twenty, or thirty, but I will venture to say that never before, never whilst a Tory administration had power, did the Tories ever represent it as an objection to a candidate that he was in office under the Crown. (Cheers). The only difference between myself, Lord Lowther, or Mr. Banks is this, that they held office under administrations hostile to the people, and I under an administration which, I say it with pride and confidence, has done more for the people in two years, than any preceding Government did in twenty. (Cheers). I will not, Gentlemen, though I hold an office connected with the present Government, undertake to defend all the measures pursued by them or by any Government, but I ask those who are inclined to censure them most severely, in what state they found the country when they came into power? I would entreat them to consider calmly whether every circumstance which has been made a topic of charge against them, is not a legacy of the Tories. (Cheers). For example Gentlemen, look at the Currency Question. We know that many persons loudly complain of the evils which the present state of the currency has, as they think, produced. But who first debased [the currency] imprudently, and then restored it imprudently? The Tories. (Cheers). Who

compelled us first to take paper for gold? who voted that paper? and who at last compelled us to pay gold for paper? The Tories! (Cheers). Who prepared the difficulties under which we now labour? First, Mr. Pitt, a great leader of the Tories; then, Mr. Percival, another leader of the Tories; and lastly, Sir R. Peel, the present leader of the Tories. (Cheers). There are difficulties in Ireland—fearful, terrible difficulties. If there is any part of the administration which it is difficult to defend, it is perhaps the administration in Ireland, and on this very ground; the country had been reduced to such a state, that a good administration of it was impossible. And who left Ireland in such a state that even abilities so great and eminent as are now employed in the government of that country cannot overcome them? Who persisted in governing the country by means of a faction? Who upheld religious disabilities until the country was driven to the point of civil war, and relaxed them only when it was doubtful if we should not lose Ireland as we lost America. (Cheers). They left it in a moment of danger, but they left it too late—when agitation had established its organisation in the country; and when grievances had produced discontent, which the mere removal of those grievances was not sufficient to remedy." (Cheers). Mr. Macaulay then reviewed the foreign policy of the Tories who gave up Poland to Russia, joined Belgium in a forced and unnatural connection with Holland, restored the Old Bourbon family to France, and left affairs in Greece and Portugal in the state in which the present Ministers found them. He pronounced a severe condemnation on the arrangement in the affairs of Europe, which existed when the Tories abandoned the reins of office to the Whigs. "Let us turn our eyes homeward and what do we see? If

we look at the state of the country, at the distress which exists, to whom was it owing? To the Whigs? Has their advice been pursued? Are we not standing at the end of fifty years of Tory rule? If distress exists then, who is to answer for it? The Tories. (Cheers). Look wherever we will we see the present administration struggling with difficulties its predecessors had bequeathed to it. And what, Gentlemen, has been the magnanimous conduct of their predecessors? They clung to power to the very last, till at length it became evident that the continuance of their power, would be, the dissolution of all society. Then at length, when every man in England who had anything to lose—and which of us has not something to lose? began to look around him with terror and dismay, all around us our foreign alliances breaking up—when there was imminent danger of a general European war,—when Belgium had separated from Holland, and France had gone through a revolution, and Ireland was approaching to anarchy,—when London was in such a situation that the King could not pass through it to dine with his citizens; when the southern counties were lighted up night after night with the fires of barns and houses—then the Tories fled from office. In that state of extreme disorder, the most dark and terrible time I ever witnessed in my life, when every man who awoke in the morning feared that something dreadful would occur before night—and when he laid down at night trembled for the news of the morning,—when the country was in such a state that to remain at the head of affairs was the most dangerous place in it,—then it was they left to the Whigs to put out the fires their evil policy had kindled, and to repair the distress and disorder which they had occasioned. (Loud Cheers). Such, gentlemen, was the state of England when the Whigs took office. I venture

to say that at no time had there been so great a want of sympathy between the people and the Government. What is the case now? How has the Ministry redeemed the pledges it gave? I need not ask you. They have not been in power two years—and now the people of Leeds are meeting to determine their choice of Members of Parliament. (Loud cheers). To this administration I have attached myself, in confidence that its future conduct will be, as its past conduct has been, wise, honourable, and popular, and because it will, I believe, follow up the great reform in the representation, by reforming the other parts of the State. (Cheers). Should my hope in this respect be realised, I shall firmly stand by the Ministry. Should I lose that hope, I shall, with many feelings of pain, on account of warm friendships, and of what those Ministers have done for their country, yet without hesitation, separate myself from them." (Cheers). Mr. Macaulay concluded by expressing his opinions on Colonial Slavery and the persecutions of the Missionaries in the West Indies.

Mr. Macaulay said that question reminded him of an assertion made in a pamphlet published in this town, but which had been so effectually answered as not to need further reply, that he had held the office of Commissioner of Bankrupts with a salary of 800*l.* a-year. He had held that office, but with a salary of 300*l.* not 800*l.* a-year. Lord Brougham's Bankruptcy Court Bill abolished that office without giving him any compensation. He, Mr. Macaulay, voted for that Bill (The loudest applause). And he would now say, what, but for this question, he should not have said—that there were points in the Bankruptcy Court Bill of which he did not approve, and that he only refrained from stating those points because an office of his own was at stake. (Loud cheers). He nevertheless thought

the Bill on the whole a great improvement of the old system. (Cheers).

In answer to a question, Mr. Macaulay said, he thought no one could doubt what must be the opinion of a person who had supported Parliamentary Reform on this question. It would be absurd indeed for any man to hold that the people of Leeds ought to have a share in the government of the Empire, in the government of India, of St. Helena, of the West Indies, and Canada, and not to have a share in the government of their own town. (Loud cheers). He had not a doubt that in a very short period a complete revolution of our municipal system must take place. (Cheers). He would not say this year or the next, because there was such a vast multiplicity of questions pressing on the attention of Ministers; but it was his decided opinion that there should be a municipal constitution giving powers to the people quite as efficient as the representative constitution.

On another occasion he said:—"If I had been here merely as a spectator, merely as a traveller passing through this great community, accustomed as I am to the squalid misery, the dependence, and I may say the comparative stupidity, which I regret to know characterises the agricultural population of that part of the country in which I have generally resided, I could not but be struck by seeing the intelligence and activity of the population around me. It is impossible for any person to go through this community, and to see all around him the signs of intelligence and activity in spite of those labours of which we have heard so much, and which in some respects I doubt not require proper regulation; to see the vigour of the men, the beauty of the women, the vigour and sprightliness, and high spirits of the children, without a heartfelt

and exquisite gratification. (Cheers). But if the mere sight of this would excite gratification in a passing spectator, with what feelings of delight, pride, and gratitude must I have passed through the scenes of yesterday and to-day, when I have seen myself surrounded by a great population, who solely on public grounds have received me with expressions of kindness and cordiality, for which I feel it can scarcely ever be in my power to make an adequate return." We can only give another extract.—"I have never during the greatest excitement of the contest for the Reform Bill, held out to any class of people, the hope that by merely giving members to Leeds and Manchester, and merely taking members from Old Sarum and Gatton, we should at once put an end to distress, at once place the community in a situation different from that in which it has lately stood. The fact is that the operation of laws and the operation of all government, is not like the operation of magic, but of diet and slow regimen. There was in London a famous surgeon (Mr. Abernethy), of whom I remember hearing, that an old gentleman from the country, who had been long indulging in excess in eating and drinking, and who thereby found his digestion dreadfully injured, applied to him for relief. Mr. Abernethy inquired into his mode of living; he heard that he drank so much spirits before he got up in the morning, and so much before he went to bed at night, and that he ate and drank so much in the day time; after which he told him that he would not set him right without a year's attention to diet and regimen. 'What,' said the man, 'are you a great doctor, I thought I had only to come to you, and you give me some physic to take which would set me right directly.' 'You rascal,' said Mr. Abernethy, 'do you go burning your bowels out for fifty

years and then come to me to set you right in a minute. (Much laughter). We, Gentlemen, have been under a system of abuse for fifty years and we cannot expect to have our distresses remedied in a day. Nothing is easier than to pretend that a man has got a pill which will cure the disease in a moment; but this is all a quackery; the real physician of the state is he who cures by regimen—not an advertising physician, but a person of experience who feels the pulse, and inquires the cause of disease in order that he may apply the remedy. (Cheers). I look on the Factory Bill, though I admit the propriety of regulating the labour of children, as a quack medicine. I say without the least scruple, that to tell a man that he may have ten hours' work and twelve hours' wages, is the same thing as to tell him that by swallowing a certain pill, he would get rid of all diseases of thirty years continuance. (Cheers). Therefore, though I have declared and again declare myself friendly to a measure for limiting the labour of children, I will not agree to rash measures, which would drive the cloth trade from this country to other countries, which would lower your wages or altogether deprive you of work, and thus aggravate every distress you now endure."

In the course of the election he was advanced from the post of Commissioner to that of Secretary to the Board of Control. His salary was consequently increased to 1800*l.* a-year instead of 1200*l.* Of course his enemies did not neglect to reiterate the outcry about placemanship. The feuds of the election culminated on the nomination and polling days. The speeches which he delivered on these occasions are to be found in Mr. Vizetelly's edition. On the place of nomination, he was proposed by Mr. Marshall, senior, the father of the other candidate. The town clerk

went through the form of reading the Bribery Act, but the worthy functionary was quite inaudible. When Mr. Sadler addressed the electors, he was interrupted by the opposite band striking up with great vigour. When Mr. Macaulay's turn came round he was obliged to take off his hat and make a polite bow, and say that he should reserve his remarks till another occasion. Among the amenities of the scene, there was displayed on a banner a huge skeleton holding the "Anatomy Bill" which Mr. Macaulay had supported. There was another banner, especially offensive to the supporters of Mr. Marshall. It was a scene in "Water Lane," depicting the candidate's manufactory. It is about five o'clock on a rough winter morning, the snow is on the ground, and miserable half-clad wretches are crowding to the hated portals. Nor was this all. A fearful riot commenced. Brickbats and bludgeons were freely used in every direction. Eleven unfortunate people were so badly used that they were obliged to be carried to the Infirmary. The Blues denounced the Yellows for these atrocities, and the Yellows denounced the Blues. One side published the affidavits of some of the wounded, and the other side declared that the wounded people were their own men. Of course there was the usual cry about "The Hole and Corner proceedings." Among the humours of the election we ought not to leave omitted that a Quaker gentleman published a letter to Macaulay, "*theeing* and *thouing* him" with great freedom and severity, and one of the dissenting lights of the day gave a sort of certificate of Mr. Macaulay's merits, which was paraded with considerable effect.

Mr. Macaulay skilfully took advantage of the row to represent it as the work of the opposite parties, and issued the following address:

"GENTLEMEN,—With feelings of the warmest pleasure, I congratulate you on the result of this day's poll. An attempt has been made to introduce into Leeds, all the corruption and intimidation which disgraced the elections of Newark; and an ingenious malevolence has employed against us arts, such as even Newark never witnessed. Slander and hypocrisy, threats and caresses, bludgeons and gin, have done their worst; and the result is that the cause of Reform has triumphed in this great community by means worthy of such a community and of such a cause. I have but one word to add. Let not the advantage which you have obtained induce you to relax in your exertions. Persist. Be firm. Be vigilant. Remember how desirable it is that your success should be complete and decisive. Be content with nothing short of a final victory over those who, having long misgoverned you by means of a vicious representative system, are now attempting to misgovern you by means of that franchise which you have at length acquired in despite of them.

"I am Gentlemen, your faithful
"humble servant,
"T. B. MACAULAY."

Dec. 12th, 1832.

At the conclusion of the poll the numbers were—

Mr. Marshall	2012
Mr. Macaulay	1984
Mr. Sadler	1596
Majority over Mr. Sadler	388

Our victorious candidate then issued the following brief address:

TO THE ELECTORS OF THE BOROUGH OF LEEDS.

"GENTLEMEN,—I have now the honour of being your Representative in the first Reformed Parliament. It is, I hope, unnecessary for me to assure you that the power which I owe to your choice, shall be industriously and honestly employed for your benefit. To those who with a firmness, and public spirit, almost unparalleled in the History of Elections, have supported my cause, I owe the warmest personal gratitude. To all of you diligent and faithful service. The victorious and the vanquished party are equally now, my constituents, and I pledge to you my word, that no inhabitant of Leeds, who has occasion for my assistance, shall ever discover from my conduct towards him, that I know whether he voted for, or against me.

"I am Gentlemen,

"Your faithful and obliged servant,

"T. B. MACAULAY."

The election was wound up by the chairing of the successful candidates, which the Yellows declared was very splendid, and the Blues denounced as beggarly in the extreme. This being done, each party betook themselves to public dinners with great enthusiasm, in which the Whigs extolled their "superhuman member," as he was sometimes called, more than ever; and the Tories took to aiding and comforting Mr. Sadler, and denouncing fierce battle whenever they should have another chance. In the mean time we suppose the unhappy people in the Infirmary with their broken heads and bruised limbs were either exultant or depressed by their respective failure or success, or perhaps in the silence of their wards had leisure to reflect upon the vanity that attends even a General Election.

CHAPTER VI.

THE REFORMED PARLIAMENT.

THE first session of the Reformed Parliament commenced on the 29th of January, 1833. All over the country the elections were decidedly favourable to the Whig Ministry. They outnumbered their opponents in the proportion of five to one. Veteran politicians would see in this great preponderance of numbers just reason for alarm. It was the kind of victory which would ruin the victors. A working majority of thirty or forty is a Prime Minister's happy state of things. From the very first day of the meeting of Parliament the popularity of the Government began to wane. The attention of the whole nation was concentrated upon St. Stephen's. The most brilliant impossibilities were expected from the altered state of the Constitution. At an early period it must have become obvious to the Ministry of Earl Grey that they could only gratify their Radical allies, and satisfy their highly-wrought expectations, by persisting in a course of revolutionary legislation. It will ever be to the credit of the Grey Administration, that while passing a very large amount of memorable legislation they firmly resisted the sweeping and unconstitutional violence to which they were invited by their partisans of extreme opinions. In this they were steadily supported by the

scattered Conservative remnant slowly gathering under Sir Robert Peel.

Before, however, Parliament met, an attempt was made to involve Macaulay with his constituents. A paragraph had appeared in the *Leeds Intelligencer*, attributing to Mr. Macaulay the basest and most impudent avowal of a preference of interest to principle in regard to the question of Colonial Slavery. It was imputed to him that "on being requested by Mr. Buxton to support one of his propositions in a more marked manner than as a mere member of the House of Commons, the learned gentleman" unexpectedly cooled; and being pressed closer, replied, "I am a young man, rising in the world of politics, and would you have me ruin my prospects for the sake of the Slave question?" The Liberal organ, the *Mercury*, pronounced this story to be "one of the most audacious and flagrant falsehoods ever invented, as, indeed, every person must have done who did not believe Mr. Macaulay to be both knave and idiot." It demanded the authority on which this wretched slander was propagated, as "the *Intelligencer* had said 'the statement comes to us in no roundabout way, from a gentleman to whom Mr. Buxton stated it.' Not the slightest notice of our demand or our contradiction appears in Thursday's paper."

One of Mr. Macaulay's Leeds friends wrote to that gentleman, and called his attention to that paragraph in the *Intelligencer*. The following is his reply, inclosing a letter from Mr. Fowell Buxton, giving the most explicit contradiction to the calumny.

"LONDON, *Jan.* 1*st*, 1832.

"MY DEAR SIR,—On receiving your letter I went to a coffee-house, got a sight of the *Leeds Intelligencer*, transcribed the absurd slander about which you wrote to me, and sent it to Mr. Buxton. I inclose the answer, which will neither surprise you nor shame the author of the lie. You advise me to call on the Editor of the *Intelligencer* to give up his authority. The call would be quite useless. He has no authority to give up. The story is on the face of it an impudent invention. It is not, as you are aware, the first, or second, or third, or fourth calumny in which I have detected him; and I have no doubt he will on this occasion, as on former occasions, give himself all the airs of the injured party. I earnestly hope that my friends at Leeds do not expect me to take the trouble of refuting every lie which this writer may think fit to publish. To do so would be the business of a life; and, as a member for a great town, and Secretary to an important Department, I have other and better employment.

"Believe me, ever, my dear Sir,

"Your faithful servant,

"T. B. MACAULAY."

The following was Buxton's letter:—

"MY DEAR MACAULAY,—The extract from the Leeds newspaper surprises me as much as yourself. If you take the trouble to notice it, I must beg you will state that you have my authority for saying that I not only disclaim the conversation, but that I never heard you express a sentiment which could be tortured into a willingness to sacrifice the Slave question in exchange for 'official preferment.' Your vote last May for my resolution, and against the

amendment proposed by Government at the time when you held office, might, I should have thought, have saved you from the possibility of such an imputation.

"Believe me, very truly yours,

"T. F. BUXTON.

"CROMER, *Dec. 30th*, 1832."

When the Parliament was opened by Commission, the Ministry, justly considering that in a House of 300 new members the direction of an experienced guide was peculiarly necessary, determined once more to put Sir Charles Sutton into nomination, who had for so many years filled the chair with distinguished ability. This was very creditable to the Ministry, as Sir Charles was not one of their supporters, and had opposed the Reform Bill. They hoped to propitiate the Radicals by the fact that his continuance as Speaker would save the country the expense of his retiring pension. The malcontents retorted with more ingenuity than accuracy, that he would be entitled to both salary and pension. They had the greatest objection to a Reformed Parliament being presided over by an unreforming Speaker. Mr. O'Connell denounced the proposition as "another instance of the paltry truckling of the present administration." The law officers of the Crown having set right the misconception about the pension, and Mr. Littleton, the other gentleman nominated, having declared that his name was used without his consent, Sir Charles Sutton was elected by a very large majority. This was the first instance of dissension between the Ministerialists and one section of their supporters.

That dissension became more marked and violent in the debate on the Address. In the Royal Speech a hope was expressed that the House would entrust the King with

such powers as might be necessary for maintaining order in Ireland, and for preserving and strengthening the union between that country and Great Britain. The answer to the Address was seconded by Mr. John Marshall, Mr. Macaulay's colleague for Leeds. The new member must have been rather nervous, as he was almost inaudible to the reporters. The Government was prepared at an early day to bring forward a Coercion Bill. No other course was open to Ministers unless they should determine to abdicate all their Governmental functions in Ireland. Emancipation and Reform appeared to have done no good for that unhappy land. Agitation and violence had reached a height unparalleled in a civilised age and country. Within the last four years crime had increased *sixteen fold*. The number of predial crimes in Ireland for last year was nine thousand, and appeared on the increase. These were the circumstances under which Mr. O'Connell had the hardihood to oppose the Address, which he characterised as "bloody, brutal, unconstitutional;" and moved, as an amendment, that "the House do resolve itself into a Committee of the whole House." Then there ensued a memorable debate of nine nights' duration. The amendment was seconded by Mr. Cobbett, who on the first night took up his position not merely on the Ministerial side, but at the very head of the Treasury Bench, to the right of the Ministry. After a few words from a gentleman, who having unconsciously placed himself in an unusual part of the House excited some amusement, up sprung the Rupert of debate, Mr. Stanley, who never hesitated to face and beard the demagogue. The adjournment was moved by a gentleman who was beginning to make some reputation as a literary man, Mr. E. L. Bulwer, on whom, consequently, it devolved to re-open the debate the following night.

The late Conservative Cabinet Minister was rather bitter on the Tories, and was disposed to join in the cry of "Justice for Ireland." He would quote the honourable member for Leeds to show that coercion would not make a people peaceable. "The member for Leeds on the third reading of the Reform Bill made use of those words, 'that discontent which the great body of the people think they have reason to entertain cannot be put down by penal restrictions. Measures of coercion and severity have failed for other Governments: they failed Cromwell; they failed James II. against the bishops; and Pitt against Horne Tooke; they failed Lord Castlereagh; and they will fail every Government which shall attempt to stifle the voice of the people of England without redressing their grievance.' For England read Ireland! Was not what was applicable for one people applicable for another? Where there are extraordinary grievances the only extraordinary power you should ask for is that of immediate redress."

This allusion speedily brought up Mr. Macaulay. The speech he delivered was one of great eloquence, and produced an extraordinary effect. The amount of preparation bestowed on these speeches has been exaggerated. This very able one must have been almost *extempore*. According to his own version of his speech—"Last night I thought it would not be necessary for me to take any part in the present debate, but the appeal which has this evening been made to me by my honourable friend the member for Lincoln, forces me to rise* . . . . The antithesis (redress before coercion) is framed with all the

* *The Times* gives this rather differently. Mr. Macaulay had not intended when the discussion on the Address commenced yesterday evening to take an active part in it. He confessed, however, in the course of the

ingenuity which is characteristic of my honourable friend's style; but I cannot help thinking that on this occasion his ingenuity has imposed on himself, and that he has not sufficiently considered the meaning of the pointed phrase he has used with so much effect." In the course of his argument he made a great philippic against O'Connell: "He shrunk back: he skulked away." The following is the remarkable and effective conclusion of the speech: "The clamour which the learned member for Dublin is endeavouring to excite against Earl Grey's Government cannot be of much moment compared with that which Earl Grey has already withstood in order to place the learned gentleman where he is. (Loud cheers.) Though a comparatively young member of the Whig party, I think I can take it upon me to speak their sentiments on this head. I therefore undertake to tell the learned gentleman, that the same spirit and moral courage which sustained the Whigs when out of office in their conflict with bad laws, will sustain them in office in their conflict with the enemies of good laws. (Continued cheers.) They were not deterred by clamour from making the learned gentleman not less than a British subject; he may be assured they will never suffer him to be more. (Deafening cheers, which lasted at least a minute.) I stand here as the member of a numerous and flourishing community who have conceived that the service of the people is not incompatible with the service of the Crown, and who have sent me here, to use the word of the writ of summons, to advise His Majesty upon certain weighty and urgent affairs concerning the state and defence of the kingdom. In this capacity, and

debate, he did feel anxious to address a few words to the House; and now that he had been personally alluded to by the hon. member for Lincoln, he felt he could no longer remain silent.

in the performance of this duty, I am prepared to vote with the Address moved in answer to His Majesty's Speech, particularly that part of it which pledges Parliament to preserve the legislative union between England and Ireland inviolate—a union on which depended the well-being of the British Empire." (Loud cheers.) He was succeeded in the debate by Mr. Sheil, who sat in the House as member for the county of Louth. He had entered Parliament the year after Mr. Macaulay. The two are not without their points of resemblance. They were unquestionably the two most eloquent rhetoricians in the House, and from the first Mr. Sheil had conciliated a good opinion not easily accorded to a rhetorician who is also an Irish member. Sheil was followed in the debate by Mr. Charles Grant, Macaulay's chief at the Board of Control, who alluded to his subordinate's "overwhelming arguments." The allusion to his Leeds constituency was not passed over in silence. Old Cobbett spoke of giving "a wholesome lesson to the hon. member for Leeds, who boasted so unmeasurably last night of the extraordinary and universal prosperity of his constituents"—

Here Mr. Macaulay interrupted—"I never said one word on the subject."

Cobbett had exaggerated, but Macaulay certainly made a slip in his memory. "Not one word?" exclaimed Cobbett. "Why, did not the honourable member declare that he stood the representative of a prosperous and flourishing community? And if these words have any meaning, do not they express great prosperity on the part of his constituents?" The cheers that arose indicates that the speaker made a decisive hit. Mr. Ruthven, the member for Dublin, also declared that "skulking" was an unbecoming word. "If the honourable gentleman should

use the word again, he would get a lesson that would prevent him from repeating it a third time."

A bill for the Suppression of Disturbances in Ireland speedily passed through the House of Lords, without any opposition. The case was very different in the Commons. On the 27th of February Lord Althorp proposed that the bill should be read a first time. It was one of the most extraordinary scenes ever known in the House. Lord Althorp's speech was a tame affair, and failed to produce an impression on the House that the extraordinary powers demanded were absolutely necessary. The speech was coldly received. But late in the evening, Stanley (Lord Derby) arose and made a speech that extends over six columns of the *Times*, and using the same facts and arguments, literally carried the House by storm. "It was," says Mr. Torrens McCullagh, "perhaps, the most complete and sudden re-animation of a whole party with his own spirit by one man, not recognised or claiming to be its leader, that has been witnessed in our time." The newspapers speak of the loud and long-continued *rounds of cheering* that accompanied the conclusion. O'Connell attempted an explanation, but the House manifested a disapprobation in a way hitherto unremembered in Parliament that must have quelled for a moment the superb audacity of the Liberator. The debate was continued next night by Mr. Sheil, in a very eloquent speech. Mr. Macaulay replied in a very able speech, which, however, he has not included in his own edition. Certainly the chief honours of the debate were gathered by Mr. Stanley. The bill speedily passed.

The Ministry having disgusted their tried allies, by way of counterpoise, brought in a bill that should restore their popularity, for the reduction of the Irish Church Establish-

ment. By this bill ten bishoprics out of twenty-two were to be swept way. Lord Althorp, in bringing forward the bill, explained that the revenues of the Irish Church which were popularly set down at 3,000,000*l.*, were not in reality 800,000*l.* Out of this revenue, by a tax upon bishoprics and livings, about 69,000*l.* a year would be gained to be applied to the abolition of Church cess, the so-called tax for maintaining churches, and meeting the expenses of divine service. There would also be an accumulating fund for the augmentation of poor livings. In regard to the lands attached to bishoprics, the bishops should be bound to grant leases for ever at a corn rent upon the tender of six years' purchase. The quit-rent to the bishops was 100,000*l.* a year; the real value to the occupant 600,000*l.* Thus there would be a fund of *three millions* quite at the service of the State.

The bill was not at all acceptable to the Conservatives, who remembered that with the spoliation of Church property commenced the Revolution in France; nor yet to the Radicals, who were of the opinion that the measure did not go far enough. O'Connell denounced Lord Althorp's estimate of the revenues as a "base delusion." The bill being read a first time on the 13th, Ministers precipitately fixed the second reading for the 15th, despite the expostulations of Sir Robert Peel and his friends. When the day for the second reading came on, the Government, after all, was obliged to discharge the order of the day for it, having egregiously committed the blunder of not originating it, as a money bill, in a Committee of the whole House. Mr. Macaulay made a speech on the occasion of the House going into Committee. His complete answer on the subject was not, however, delivered till the debate in the Maynooth year. They will therefore be best reviewed

in a later page of this work. The House of Lords, in Committee, passed an amendment, that the tax on the clergy should be applied solely to the augmentation of small livings; and the Government having taken time to consider whether they should fling up the bill or fling up office, concluded to do neither, and the bill was passed in its amended form.

The Charter of the East India Company expired this year, as did also the Charter of the Bank, which last, without much difficulty, and in an improved form, was renewed. In 1813 there had been a great inroad made upon the commercial monopoly enjoyed by the Company; and since that time there had been a persistent agitation on the subject. It was urged that to fling open the East would provide a boundless market for English goods, and for us largely cheapen the productions of Asia. In the *Travels* of Bishop Heber, published about this time, the growing taste of the natives for English exports and manufactures is pointed out; and he drew favourable anticipations of the effect of throwing open the trade. The good Bishop was right in his prognostications, which had their share in determining the course of legislation; for in twenty years the amount of British exports to India and China more than tripled. We briefly notice the course of legislation, joining in the general regret that Indian subjects are so little familiar to the English public or the English Parliament. It had been one of the last public acts of Mr. Huskisson to present a strong petition from the merchants of Liverpool, praying for the removal of all restrictions on the trade with India and China. In February, 1830, Lord Ellenborough in the House of Lords, and Sir Robert Peel in the House of Commons, obtained Committees for a full investigation of the subject.

The dissolution of Parliament, that followed on the death of George IV., disappointed their efforts; and the dissolution of the new Parliament disappointed the efforts of Lord Ellenborough's successor at the Board of Control, Mr. Charles Grant. In the January of 1832, the reappointment of the Select Committee was obtained. This was divided into six sub-committees: 1. Public; 2. Finance, Accounts, and Trade; 3. Revenue; 4. Judicial; 5. Military; 6. Political. These "reports" fill more than 8000 pages of close print. As a whole they were highly favourable to the Company. The system that united commerce with Government had created one vast empire, and had been accompanied by many advantages; but, at the same time, those reforms which freetraders and political economists had so long demanded could no longer be withheld. Government was prepared to take action founded on the enormous mass of materials which their Committee had accumulated for them. We may be sure that the accomplished Secretary to the Board of Control had his full share of study and trouble in preparing the details of the new scheme. The House proceeded by Resolution, a precedent which was followed, at the suggestion of Lord John Russell, by the Earl of Derby's Government, in the final measure respecting the East India Company. The Resolutions were: (1.) That all Her Majesty's subjects should be at liberty to trade with China; (2.) That in case the East India Company should transfer to the Crown their claims and assets, the Crown should undertake their obligations, and pay the Company a certain revenue; (3.) That the government of British India should be intrusted to the Company under parliamentary conditions and regulations. The Resolutions passed both Houses without opposition; although in the Lords the Earl of Ellen-

borough declared himself hostile to the whole scheme, as being a crude, ill-digested plan, the offspring of unfounded theories, formed by men who know nothing, and would know nothing, of India.

A bill founded upon these Resolutions was introduced into Parliament as soon as the long negotiation with the East India Company was concluded. However, the substantial change was, that the East India Company should no longer trade, but, in conjunction with the Board of Control, confine themselves to the management of their territory. The Court of Directors appealed to the Court of Proprietors. On the 3rd of May, 1833, a General Court was held, somewhat thinly attended considering the magnitude of the question, for the ballot showed only 529 votes, scarcely a fourth part of the proprietors. It was agreed by 477 against a minority of 52, that, provided there was a guarantee fund of 2,000,000*l.* for the payment of the dividends, and, if necessary, for the capital, the Government plan should be accepted.

On the second reading of the bill, July 10th, Mr. Macaulay spoke on the subject. In many respects it was the most remarkable speech he ever delivered. In point of length it was the longest. Unfortunately the attendance in the House was very thin; the speech was spoken nearly to empty benches; and the reports are meagre in the extreme. The speech occupied an hour and three quarters in the delivery. The report in *Hansard* was evidently corrected, perhaps furnished, by himself. But the Speaker, a very severe judge, declared that upon the whole it was the best speech he ever heard in the course of his life; and Mr. O'Connell, who spoke in the debate, extolled it as one of the masterpieces of the English tongue. It is, indeed, a speech of matchless value, and

ought to be read by the student in connection with the articles on Clive and Warren Hastings. With a few necessary alterations, it might be quite worth while to reprint it as a brief but valuable text-book on important Indian matters.

There was one other speech delivered this session relating to a subject with which his own reputation, and, in an infinitely greater degree, the reputation of his father, is intimately bound up. The year 1833, a veritable *annus mirabilis*, is also celebrated for the settlement of the question of West Indian Slavery. The achievement of their mighty design, and the overcoming of the vast obstacles that opposed them, is a wonderful instance of what may be accomplished by a band of earnest men confiding in the integrity of their motives, the justice of their cause, and the favour of Heaven. And yet the history of their success affords a warning against mere mob feeling, against a popular cry, even when connected with a holy cause and with saintly names. On the evening of the 14th of May, good Thomas Fowell Buxton prepared to set forth to the House of Commons. It was, in the words of his son and biographer, "that memorable evening, perhaps the most memorable in his life." He had reached his study door, when, with a better feeling than that which would attempt the *Virgilianæ Sortes*, he turned back to take a last look at his Bible. The sacred volume opened at the beautiful passage in Isaiah: "If thou draw out thy soul to the hungry, and satisfy the afflicted soul: then shall thy light rise in obscurity, and thy darkness be as noon-day; and the Lord shall guide thee continually," &c. Calm and unanxious he remained through the evening on which the Government propositions respecting slavery were to be

brought forward. He first presented a petition, signed by the females of England to the number of 187,000, and was only able to place it on the table with the help of several members, and amid the laughter and cheers of the House. Mr. Stanley, who had exchanged his uneasy position of Chief Secretary for Ireland for the office of Secretary of State for the Colonies, had in the brief space of a month completely mastered the multitudinous details of the vast question; and had come down to the House that night with certain propositions designed to set it at rest for ever. Mr. (afterwards Sir Thomas Fowell) Buxton was delighted to find precisely his own sentiments expressed with so much force and ability by the eloquent scion (and now the head) of the House of Derby. He applied to him Cowper's lines to Mrs. Courtenay:—

"My numbers that evening she sung,
And gave them a grace so divine,
As only her musical tongue
Could infuse into numbers of mine.

"The longer I heard, I esteemed
The work of my fancy the more;
And e'en to myself never seemed
So tuneful a poet before."

When Mr. Stanley had concluded his eloquent denunciations of the cruelty of the planters, he brought forward the details of his scheme. Slavery was to be abolished, but with certain limitations. For a time the slaves were to be apprenticed to their former owners; that is to say, should work for them three-fourths of the day, and receive in return food and clothing. Thus the slave-owners would retain part of the value of the slaves, and for the rest a loan of fifteen millions was to be paid by England. There were various other regulations; and

though Mr. Buxton was quite dissatisfied with some particulars of the scheme, yet, on the whole, he was prepared to accept it. The anti-slavery movement had, however, reached a pitch of agitation quite beyond the control of its leaders. Mr. Buxton was severely blamed by zealous abolitionists for conceding the apprenticeship and the compensation. The party fell into two sections, of which the more extreme attacked "dear, honest Buxton" (as Mr. Wilberforce calls him) with insolent and ungrateful acrimony. The bill passed its second reading, and it was understood that the battle should come off in Committee. On the motion that "the House resolve itself into Committee," Mr. Macaulay made a speech. He was quite in favour of the total abolition of slavery. "There had been fierce and prolonged wars in Europe, but population went on augmenting; and fresh life filled up the chasms caused by such fields as Leipsic, Borodino, and Waterloo. . . . In the West India colonies alone was found a society in which the number of human beings was continually decreasing." Opposing those "with whom he generally had the happiness to act" (alluding here to the extreme abolitionists), he should support the compensation clause. In reference to the transition state of the negro, he "confessed he entertained great, and in some respects, he feared, insurmountable doubts." Although a member of the Government, it will be perceived that he was quite prepared to vote against the Government on the amendment, and, if necessary, sacrifice his place. "He was aware how freely he had stated his opinion on this important question; but he was sure that the House would do justice to his motives, which, amidst conflicting feelings and opinions, prompted him humbly to endeavour to perform his duty."

Mr. Buxton had moved an amendment to the effect that the apprenticeship should be limited to the shortest period necessary for establishing the system of free labour, and suggested the term of a year. It was on this occasion that Mr. Macaulay made the above speech. He courageously went into the opposite lobby, and voted against ministers. The Government proposition was carried, but by a majority so narrow that ministers were scarcely prepared to insist on its terms, and were willing to adopt some modification. Mr. Stanley accordingly proposed next day a very considerable diminution in the term of apprenticeship. As this alteration would be attended with considerable disadvantage to the planter, the loan of fifteen millions was commuted into a gift of twenty millions; and in this shape the bill which wiped away the reproach of slavery from the English name was passed.

An acute and amusing writer, Mr. Anthony Trollope, says of this twenty millions—"It was at best but as though we had put down awls and lasts by Act of Parliament, and, giving the shoemakers the price of their tools, told them they might make shoes as they best could without them, and failing any such possibility, they might live on the price of their lost articles." Remembering all the arguments, both of a civil and religious nature, that brand its own hateful character upon slavery, it may be questioned whether the Government proposition which Mr. Buxton and Mr. Macaulay opposed might not have been the best. Public enthusiasm had also removed the matter from the sphere of deliberate legislation, and—what is always an unhappy state of affairs—the members were overawed by their constituents. The results of premature freedom have proved most disastrous in the

West Indian islands. Virtually, our Government not only abolished slavery, but abolished labour. A state of things was produced in Jamaica which would not for a day be tolerated in England. In England labour is compulsory: it is compulsory by the whole network of circumstances and framework of society. If an able-bodied man will not work, we commit him to prison, and to an amount of hard labour which it would be hard to distinguish from slavery itself. In Jamaica valuable lands have gone back into a state of bush. Grounds which were once crowded by the richest productions of nature, have once more become a solitary wilderness. While the land is lying waste, while trade is being ruined, while additional labour is imposed on the less fortunate negroes of the Southern States, the Jamaica negro enforces his right to idleness by excuse and lying, enjoying at his leisure the luscious fruits of the sun that suffice for his existence. "No, massa, me weak in me belly; me no workee to-day; me no like workee just 'em little moment." *

Primarily, the West Indian proprietaries are to blame for this great deterioration. Canning had earnestly pressed upon the local legislature of the islands his plans for the amelioration and abolition of slavery. But, however favourably these were received by the English House of Commons, they were only greeted with alarm and distrust on the side of the colonial legislature. Mr. Canning's resolutions had proposed the entire abolition of the lash in the case of females, and fully regulated its use in other cases; had forbidden the separation of father,

* For the West Indian Bill, see *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, Annual Register, Sir A. Alison's History of Europe, Memoirs of Fowell Buxton, Trollope's West Indies.*

wife, and child; had protected the property of slaves, admitted their evidence, facilitated their manumission, and had provided for their religious instruction by means of a regular ecclesiastical establishment. The colonies refused to act upon any such system of limitations, and they reaped the result in subsequent insurrection and final emancipation. The new system came into operation on the 1st of August, 1834. In the universal and touching rejoicings among the sable race, it is a day much to be remembered. The negroes crowded into the churches and chapels as the evening of the last day of slavery came on. In the hush and silence of prayer they awaited the solemn midnight hour that should make them free men, and when twelve sounded, arose in every island the song of thanksgiving! In about four years time the apprentice plan was abandoned in favour of total and unconditional abolition. This was a dangerous and hazardous step, the conferring of an immunity from labour upon a people utterly untrained to self-reliance and self-government. Some gradual steps ought to have been adopted which should not release the negro from the necessity of obedience to the divine ordinance of earning his bread by the sweat of his brow. The European race is physically unequal to the endurance of tasks, heat, or death-fraught gales, but the negro thrives and prospers under the vertical sun, and the most authentic instances of the most advanced old age are to be found among the West Indian slaves, among whom the great age of 180 has been reached. Since the Emancipation Act was framed, in obedience to popular impulses rather than to clear judgment and unbiassed principles, foreign plantations have gained the productions which were formerly our own, the number of slaves has been

doubled, and the horrors of the middle passage have been enhanced.

Mr. Wilberforce lived to enjoy the great happiness of knowing that his measure would be passed, although he was not spared till the actual moment of abolition, and had no prescient view of the irretrievable mischief that would ensue from a measure that did not provide for the formation of fixed habits of industry. We may all join in his dying fervour—"Thank God that I should have lived to witness a day in which England is willing to give twenty millions sterling for the abolition of slaves!" "Would," wrote Miss Buxton to Zachary Macaulay, "would that Mr. Wilberforce had lived one fortnight longer, that my father might have taken back to him *fulfilled* the task he gave him ten years ago!"

One other measure of this parliament ought to be mentioned. Mr. Sadler, though unseated by Mr. Macaulay, found a worthy successor in the cause of benevolent legislation in Lord Ashley, who brought forward a bill for limiting the hours of labour in factories. The second reading was passed, and a body of evidence was adduced before the committee. The provisions of the bill were so altered in favour of the masters that Lord Ashley abandoned it to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and ultimately an Act was passed that in some degree would tend towards a better state of things.

Late in the autumn Mr. Macaulay paid a visit to his constituents at Leeds. With peculiar pleasure he attended a meeting of the Mechanics' Institution there, and turned aside from politics to literature. The speech is interesting from its anecdotes and personal references. There was also a public dinner given, in which he took a rapid review of the session. The harmony of the evening was

not entirely unruffled, but the general effect of his visit to Leeds must have been highly satisfactory to him; and what he said was reprinted in various papers, and appears to have excited some amount of general attention at the time.

Mr. Macaulay.—"Gentlemen,—It is certainly true, as the honourable gentleman who has just addressed you has said, that calls of public business rendered it very desirable for me to leave Leeds last night or early this morning; but I could not refuse to enjoy so great a pleasure as that of meeting you here. It is a great pleasure, because hitherto, as you are well aware, the only occasions on which I have ever met any large assembly of the people of Leeds, were occasions when the passions were roused, the public mind was agitated, and the population were engaged in the heat of a political contest, in which I might be considered a favourite of one party, and viewed with no such kindly feelings by the other. I remember an anecdote which was told in the House of Commons of the Battle of Talavera, at which, after a violent conflict in one part of the line, between an English and a French regiment, the day being one of scorching heat, they fell back on opposite sides of a brook, and each stooped down to drink. The English soldiers carried cocoa-nut shells to drink with, and perceiving that the French soldiers had no such means of obtaining the water, they handed over to them their cocoa-nuts, and then, after both sides had refreshed themselves, went to fighting again. (Cheers and laughter.) This surely ought to be always the case on any question about public education. We ought then to throw aside every feeling of party, to lend each other our cocoa-nuts, to stop for a time from

the contests of passion, and to drink of those sweet and refreshing waters, without either remembering past or looking forward to future enmities. (Cheers.) I cannot say that I am intimately acquainted either with the history of this institution or the machinery of any similar institution; but I know enough of them to know that they are calculated to procure great and inestimable good to the people of this country. Knowledge is one of the highest and most refined pleasures; and on what earthly principle the rich should refuse a participation in those pleasures to the poor—pleasures at once the cheapest and most pure—I cannot conceive. (Cheers.) Having had myself a very liberal education, and feeling myself to be more than ordinarily prosperous in the world, I feel that I owe much of the happiness of my life to the pleasures imparted by education, and that I should therefore be the most selfish and basest of men if I did not desire to extend those pleasures to my fellow-countrymen. (Cheers.) It is fashionable to say, the poor have not leisure for much study; that all knowledge should be deep, or it is useless; and then a quotation from Mr. Pope is introduced—'Drink deep or taste not'—and another 'shallow draughts intoxicate the brain.' In the sense in which he used this saying, which he borrowed from a classical poet, I believe that it is true. It is not desirable, for instance, to devote oneself to the fine arts without a prospect of arriving at eminence; a middling painter or a middling poet is not to be envied, for in these things mediocrity is contemptible. But when the question is about the useful sciences, it is idle to say that a man, because he cannot know a great deal, must know nothing. In these sciences I must be content to take my place among the poor; my own scientific requirements are very small, and not greater

than any industrious mechanic availing himself of the advantages of this institution may attain. But though I did not carry mathematics far, I should think it disgraceful not to be able to work a rule of three sum. With regard to all solid knowledge, it is perfectly evident a great deal is better than a little, and a little is better than none. (Cheers.) I agree with the honourable gentleman who spoke last, it is of the highest importance to the peace and good order of society, that we should promote a disposition to acquire useful knowledge among the labouring classes of the country. He has truly said that knowledge is power, and we may as truly say that knowledge is moderation, and knowledge is humanity. (Cheers.) I visited Paris a month after the last revolution, and whatever opinions gentlemen may form of the causes of that revolution, there was no person in Europe who did not feel the highest admiration of the humanity and forbearance with which the victorious multitude conducted themselves on that occasion. Not a single drop of blood was shed after the victory was won. Seventy or eighty thousand people had arms in their hands; there was no government in the city, and yet not a single jeweller's shop was plundered of the value of a ring or bracelet. (Cheers.) I happened to be driven along the street in a cabriolet, and entering into conversation with the driver, who, being an old soldier of Bonaparte, had taken (together with all his class) a conspicuous part in the contest of the three days, I spoke to him with great approbation of the part the multitude had pursued. He was much flattered with this praise from an Englishman, and he said, 'Do the English think we fought bravely?' I replied 'Yes, we certainly think that; but that does not surprise us, as we always knew the French to be a brave people;

but what we admire most is, their noble forbearance after the victory; especially when contrasted with the bloody massacre of the first revolution.' He said—'It is not strange. I remember my father; he was as good as I am, but he could not read nor write; he was a kind father, always good to me, but he believed any story that anybody told him. At one time he believed that we should have cheap bread, at another that we should have cheaper meat, if they would massacre twenty or thirty members of the Convention. But I can read and write, and I know well that we could not mend ourselves by robbing all the shops in Paris.' This was said to me in the simplest and plainest manner by a man who a few days before had arms in his hands, and had the power of committing depredations and every excess. (Hear, hear, and cheers.) This is one of the thousand circumstances that might be mentioned, but a slight circumstance happening to oneself impresses any one more than greater events happening to others. I firmly believe that the spread of knowledge is the best security for the happiness and peace of a great country; for whilst it gives the labouring classes power, it gives them the disposition to use that power moderately and properly. (Cheers.) I think this institution is an excellent one, and the plan for increasing its stability and usefulness highly desirable. This is one of the means by which the rich of a great community may confer solid benefit on the poor without any room for an unworthy feeling of jealousy or suspicion, and with the great advantage of uniting the different classes in closer ties of friendliness. Any support I can give your institution will gladly be given. It is my wish to become one of the proprietors of the new institution, and for that purpose I have put into the hands of my friend Mr. Baines a contribution

proportioned certainly not to my zeal in the cause, but to my means, and I trust you will consider it as a mark of the unfeigned interest I shall constantly feel in its prosperity. (Loud cheers.)

Public Dinner.

Mr. Macaulay. — "Gentlemen, — I can with the greatest truth assure you, that this reception amply repays me for any labour which I may have undergone, and any unpleasant circumstances during the eleven months which have elapsed since we last saw each other; for though I well remember the enthusiasm and cordiality you displayed when we parted, I might attribute that in some degree to the excitement that naturally follows such a contest and victory: but to find the same cordiality and kindness when all the fervour of the first struggle has had time to cool, and when I come again among you after leaving you for nearly a year, and having had nothing but my public conduct to rely upon, exposed as it has been to every species of misrepresentation and detraction,—when I come and find you the same kind friends which I left you, I need not say that I entertain feelings I will not attempt to describe. (Cheers.) Though it is rather unusual both to drink a toast and to acknowledge it, I have not scrupled to do so on the present occasion. I am not one of those who are strictly called his Majesty's ministers, yet I am nearly enough connected with them to be able to say that I participate with their feelings, and thank you in their name. (Cheers.) I drink this toast because, in common with all Englishmen, I feel the deepest gratitude to them for the great services rendered to their country;—great

services in their passing the Reform Bill, and great services subsequently by means of the Reform Bill. (Cheers.) I know that some members of Parliament and gentlemen whom I highly respect, on meeting their constituents after the late eventful session, have thought it necessary to come before them with the tone of humility or the language of self-defence. I have no such language to hold. (Loud cheers.) I come before you, gentlemen, to assume the port and to use the language of a man who has, at least, meant and endeavoured well. (Cheers.) I come before you to say with confidence, that, amidst difficulties such as no Government ever contended with, and called to fulfil expectations such as no Government ever raised, the administration to which I belong, and the Parliament which supported that administration, have established a just claim to the gratitude of their country. (Cheers.) The difficulties with which they had to struggle are, I imagine, well known to you. You know in particular that from one branch of the legislature they were likely to encounter opposition, whenever opposition might be fatal to them; great and extensive interests had been created by former governments; a great portion of the patronage of the administration was perpetually used against them; the great and powerful profession of the church, which has generally been allied with government, was now believed to be generally indisposed to them; but, above all, the greatest difficulty with which they had to contend, was the high expectation raised through the country, and the state of excitement in which the Reform Bill had left the public mind. I do not complain of this, —I do not blame the people: the thing was inevitable. (Cheers.) We all feel in private life that periods of great excitement and agitation are almost necessarily followed

by reaction; high expectation by disappointment. If there should be some particular day, party, or event from which we have promised ourselves extraordinary pleasure, on which our minds have been dwelling for months, imagination necessarily exceeds the reality, and some little degree of depression or disappointment follows. Besides, a very large portion of the people have not sufficiently considered by what means governments can promote the happiness of a country. It is not by magic, but, as a physician would say, by diet, that the change is to be effected. The recovery is slow and gradual;—government cannot in one day change poverty into plenty; it cannot in one day change all the evils which have been inflicted by the misgovernment of ages. All that it can do is to bring our institutions into a sound and healthy state. I say these highly raised expectations are quite natural, and that the people deserve the utmost credit for their conduct with regard to the Reform Bill; for in no other country would that which we did in two sessions of Parliament have been effected without two or three bloody campaigns. (Cheers.) You will bear me witness that my language has always been that reforms must be gradual; that it was utterly impossible that we could in one Parliament do away with all the evils that a hundred years of misgovernment had produced; that it was utterly impossible at once to restore the interests of this great country from distress to a sound and healthful state; that it was necessary to proceed by degrees. Parliament met, and we had to deal with expectations which no minister not gifted with supernatural power, who did not possess the rod of Moses, who could not give to the people quails, and drink, and manna, without any exertion on their part, could by any possibility

satisfy. (Cheers.) The House of Commons itself showed in what a state of excitement the Reform Bill had left judicious and well-informed men, for such is the general character of that body. On the very day that the King's speech was made, on the first day of the session, as my noble friend well knows, notices were put down for two-thirds of the session, and perfectly sufficient to occupy the House of Commons, if we had gone on debating, for three years; not merely such as young gentlemen, with great advantage no doubt to themselves, discuss in their debating societies; questions such, for example, as this, that "much, if not all, of the Church property shall be applied to the public use." "Much, if not all." Surely this is not the form in which any practical measure of legislation should be brought forward. And a very great proportion of those notices were in such a state, that even when the general principle was sound, it was impossible that any judicious legislation could take place upon them. With regard to one of the most important questions that can claim the attention of the House—I mean the amendment of the law of libel—which no one feels to be more important than I do, and on which I have myself been pressing the Solicitor-General to bring in a bill, a measure was introduced which no person who examined it could think it possible to carry into a law. In fact, we had to contend with violent expectations out of doors, and a busy meddling disposition to innovate within doors. Well, gentlemen, the session has passed, and, with all these difficulties, we bring before you completely executed several great and important measures, any one of which would be sufficient to distinguish a session, and the whole of which, I will say, that no ten sessions of Parliament since the Revolution have produced so much good to the

people. (Cheers.) Slavery extinguished; China thrown open to English trade; India thrown open to the settlement of Europeans; the Vestry Cess abolished in Ireland; law reforms of great extent and importance,—some passed, others carried forward, and failing (if they failed) not from any fault of the Government which introduced them; a great inquiry into the municipal government of the towns of England commenced under parliamentary authority (cheers); retrenchment carried to such a point that the annual expenditure under the control of Parliament has been, since the accession of this ministry to power, reduced from fifteen to twelve millions: and while all this has been taking place, public credit still maintained inviolate, public order preserved, peace with foreign powers continued, and that country which ministers found in a state of disorder unparalleled, now—in my conscience I believe—in a state of returning and advancing prosperity. . . . . I will, before I sit down, say a few words with regard to a much more important accusation which Mr. Bower has brought against me."

Mr. Bower. "Up, sir, speak up."

Mr. Macaulay. "I will. I cannot conceive that there can be a more weighty accusation against a representative, than that he has given away twenty millions of the public money for a purpose not merely idle, but absolutely wicked and profligate. I can safely say I have shown no disposition to adhere servilely to any party of men on this occasion; but I never gave a vote with more perfect satisfaction than I gave that vote for the 20,000,000*l.*; and if the penalty of giving that vote were to be exclusion from Parliament and public life, I would give it again and again." (Loud cheers.)

Mr. Bower said at this point: "Mr. Macaulay, will

you answer me this question, If you had not had a situation under Government, would you have given 20,000,000*l.* and seven years' apprenticeship?"

Mr. Macaulay. "I will answer that in the shortest manner possible. When I gave that vote, I did not believe myself to be in place under Government." (Loud cheers.)

Mr. Bower. "Now then, sir—" (cries of "Order, order!" and some confusion.) Mr. Macaulay requested that Mr. Bower might be heard. That gentleman accordingly proceeded: "You have forgot the seven years."

Mr. Macaulay. "I voted against the length of servitude."

Mr. Bower. "Did you vote against the seven years' servitude?"

Mr. Macaulay. "I do not recollect whether there was a division on the seven years. I voted for Mr. Buxton's motion which settled the question." (Cheers.)

Mr. Clapham. "There was no division on the seven years."

Mr. Macaulay. "Whether there was or not, I do not recollect; but I did not vote. I left the House that night, determined not to vote against ministers, as they had been left in a minority in the House of Lords, and it seemed likely they would go out of office; and I was fully resolved not to purchase popularity at such a moment by voting against them." (Loud cheers.) Mr. Bower attempted to speak again, which caused so much confusion that he desisted. Mr. Macaulay proceeded: "When I gave the vote in favour of Mr. Buxton's motion, my resignation was in the hands of Lord Althorp. (Loud Cheers.) I thought, and think, the grant of 20,000,000*l.* a matter of absolute justice. (Cheers.) I say the West

India planters were not the only guilty parties. It was not a question about the buying of stolen goods. Goods had been stolen, but we had guaranteed the theft. We had bound ourselves in every way that a State can bind itself, not only by laws, but by the stipulation of solemn treaties. When the Mauritius, the Cape, Demerara, and Trinidad were conquered, the very terms of the treaties guaranteed their existing laws and the rights of existing property. And why did we do it? Because we did not know the guilt there was in slavery. And it is not necessary to go far back for an illustration of this fact. Public opinion has grown, public opinion has improved, on the subject. I remember that in 1824 my revered friend Mr. Buxton did not wish for the emancipation of the existing slaves, and did not think it would be for their benefit. And am I to be told, then, that the West Indians were the only persons blind to the guilt of slavery? I say that we were partakers of the crime, and ought to partake of the penalty. From this time forth all men will know that, however odious any privilege to be abolished, and however large the sum required, nothing will terrify the English Parliament or people from destroying the abuse, while they compensate the legal owner. This is my defence. (Loud cheers.) I will not dwell upon it; I could dwell upon it longer; but I see you sympathise with me, and I am proud to see it. (Loud Cheers.) If we had denied the planter compensation, I feel that we should have acted rather as violent, eager, headstrong invaders, than as men of true philanthropy. (Cheers.) Never was I so proud of my country as when I saw the manner in which this vote was received—far prouder than I was at the cry to abolish slavery. Anybody can cry out against slavery, but to be ready to pay

the price of liberation is a very different thing; that is the real test of the humanity of a nation. (Cheers.) Gentlemen, I have rather exhausted myself, and I will only further thank you for the manner in which you have drunk my health."

The local paper says: "The honourable gentleman concluded this most animated, powerful, and brilliant reply, the rapidity of which has deprived our reporter of the ability to do it justice, and which by its pointed and spirited argument evidently flashed conviction upon the audience, amidst enthusiastic and long-continued applause."

By the provisions of the East India Act for 1833 (3 & 4 Will. 4, c. 85, s. 53), it was provided that a law commission should be appointed to inquire into the jurisdiction, &c., of existing courts of justice and police establishments, and the operation of the laws. The Commissioners were from time to time to report the result of their inquiries, to follow the instructions of the Governor-General, and to make special reports when required. Their salaries were to be on the highest scale of remuneration given to any of the Company's servants below the rank of Member of Council. The appointments were vested in the Governor-General. In an earlier section it was provided that there should be four Ordinary Members of Council, and that the fourth should be appointed from among persons *not* servants of the Company, and that this last-mentioned Member of Council should not be entitled to sit or vote in the Council, except at meetings for making laws and regulations. The annual salary of each Ordinary Member was to be ninety-six thousand sicca rupees, about 10,000*l.* a year, that of the Governor-General being two hundred and ninety-six thousand

sicca rupees. An outfit of twelve hundred pounds was allowed to each Member of Council, and to the Governor General of five thousand. There was to be no retiring pension. The splendid office of Law Member of Council thus created was offered to Mr. Macaulay, and, after consultation with his friends, accepted. It seems to have been understood that Mr. Macaulay should be attached to the Law Commission, and as a matter of fact he was appointed by the Governor General its President. According to the language of the Act of Parliament, the two offices are by no means associated, and, legally, Mr. Macaulay, in becoming a member of the Law Commission, would be entitled to the very large income assigned to the members in addition to that which he enjoyed as Fourth Ordinary Member. I am not aware, however, that the double income was enjoyed with the double office.

The following was the address which on this occasion he issued to his constituents:—

"*To the Electors of Leeds.*

"Gentlemen,—It is well known to you that the great Corporation to which Parliament has entrusted the Government of our Indian Empire, has appointed me to one of the highest posts in its service; that His Majesty has been graciously pleased to confirm the appointment—that I have accepted it—and that in a very short time I shall proceed to the scene of my new labours.

"I have lately enjoyed the pleasure of conversing with several of my most respected constituents, and I have been truly gratified to learn that my conduct on this

occasion has obtained their approbation. They justly consider it as honourable to themselves that their representative should be freely selected by a body, which wants neither the spirit nor the power to resist unreasonable dictation on the part of the Crown, to fill one of the most important offices of the Empire.

"I trust that I shall carry with me the esteem of my constituents, and that in my new situation I shall not forfeit their esteem. In Asia, as in Europe, the principles which recommended me to your favour shall be constantly present to my mind. While legislating for a conquered race, to whom the blessings of our constitution cannot as yet be safely extended, and to whom the benignant influence of our religion is unknown, I shall never forget that I have been a legislator chosen by the unforced and uncorrupted voices of a free, an enlightened, and Christian people.

"I this day return into your hands the high trust with which you have honoured me. It was obtained by no unworthy arts. It has been used for no unworthy ends. I owed it to your free and unsolicited choice. I have endeavoured to employ it for what appeared to me your real good. My conscience tells me that I have been an honest servant, and I owe to you this attestation, that you have been most indulgent and reasonable masters. You will bear me witness that I have never shrunk from speaking the truth, and I can bear witness that you have been always willing to hear it. When we have differed, I have never evaded your questions, nor have you clamoured down my answers. We have endeavoured to convince each other by a fair interchange of reasons, and if we still continue to differ, we have differed as friends.

"I can form no better wish for your borough—and it

is well entitled to the best wishes that I can form—than that it may maintain the honourable character which it has won. If, now that I have ceased to be your servant, and only your sincere and grateful friend, I may presume to offer you advice which must, at least, be allowed to be disinterested, I would say to you: Act towards your future representatives as you have acted towards me. Choose them as you chose me, without canvassing or expense. Encourage them, as you encouraged me, always to speak to you fearlessly and plainly. Never suffer your great and independent town to be turned into an East Retford or Newark. Reject, as you have hitherto rejected, the wages of dishonour. Defy, as you have hitherto defied, the threats of petty tyrants. Never forget that the worst and most degrading species of corruption is the corruption which operates, not by hopes, but by fears. Cherish those noble and virtuous principles for which we have struggled and triumphed together—the principles of liberty and toleration, of justice and order. Support, as you have steadily supported, the cause of good government; and may all the blessings which are the natural fruits of good government descend upon you and be multiplied to you an hundredfold! May your manufactures flourish; may your trade be extended; may your riches increase. May the works of your skill, and the signs of your prosperity, meet me in the furthest regions of the East; and give me fresh cause to be proud of the intelligence, the industry, and the spirit of my constituents.

"And now, Gentlemen, it remains for me only to bid you farewell—to wish to you all, to my supporters and to my opponents, health, prosperity, and happiness, and to assure you that to the latest day of my life I shall look

back with pride and pleasure on the honourable connection which has subsisted between us.

"I have the honour to be, Gentlemen,

"Your faithful friend and servant,

"T. B. MACAULAY.

"London, February 4, 1834."

Of course, Blue opinion at Leeds immediately pronounced that Mr. Macaulay had sold his constituents for filthy lucre. The electors immediately plunged themselves with the utmost satisfaction into another desperate civic struggle. The Conservative interest appears to have gained ground considerably. It was, perhaps, felt by his constituents that in a measure they had been sacrificed by their brilliant member. On this occasion there was a much shorter time for the contest, and it by no means presents the same vivid points of interest as the preceding one. The Liberal candidate gained his seat by the narrow majority of forty, the numbers being—

For Mr. Baines	1951
For Sir John Beckett	1911

On the day that Mr. Macaulay had written his farewell address, the King had opened the session of 1834—the session that witnessed the schism and dismemberment of the Grey Ministry by the resignation of Mr. Stanley, Sir James Graham, and others; by the resignation, afterwards recalled, by Lord Althorp of the office of Chancellor of the Exchequer; by the retirement of Earl Grey himself. Mr. Macaulay's name is found in connection with the case of Mr. Sheil, which excited universal attention in the early part of the session. The circumstances may be briefly recalled. In the recess Mr. Hill,

the member for Hull, had accused some Irish members of duplicity in regard to the Coercion Bill of the past session. Irish members who had voted publicly against the Bill had privately entreated Ministers not to relax the severity of its provisions. Mr. Hill offered to give an answer *yes or no* to any Irish member who would ask him whether he was the traitor. In the course of the autumn the question was put by various Irish members, with the remarkable omission of Mr. Sheil, who was now generally supposed to be the person meant. It would have been a great mistake on the part of Mr. Sheil to have exposed himself to Mr. Hill's imputation of guilt, when months must elapse before he could clear himself before the House and the country. The day after Macaulay's resignation of his seat Lord Althorp, in reply to Mr. O'Connell, said that he "had good reason to believe that more than one honourable member, who had not only voted but spoken violently against the Irish Coercion Act, had made use of very different language in private." Then arose a call of "Name, name!" and Mr. Sheil, who was loudly called for, repudiating all attempt at evasion, begged to know whether he was one of them. Then said Lord Althorp—

"As the honourable gentleman has put the thing so directly and pointedly to me, and as he has not left me any means of evading so unpleasant a question, I must say that he is."

There was the utmost sensation at this announcement.

Mr. Sheil (with great earnestness, and in grave, measured tones) then declared that "in the presence of this House—in the presence of my country—and, if it be not profanation, in the presence of the living God, the individual who furnished the information to the Government has been guilty of the foulest, the grossest, the most

malignant, and the most diabolical calumny." In the altercation that ensued both Lord Althorp and Mr. Sheil declined to pledge themselves that they would not proceed to hostilities, and were both given into custody. In the course of the evening they gave the required assurance and were discharged. Night after night the House was occupied with this shameful and ridiculous affair, which was referred to a Committee of Privileges.

Mr. Hill brought as his witnesses before the Committee, Mr. John Wood and Mr. Macaulay. Never did witnesses so signally fail a public prosecutor. Mr. John Wood's testimony appears to have been nothing more than that Mr. Sheil had condemned the Coercion Bill. As for Mr. Macaulay, he refused to answer the questions of the Committee, and the *Courier* stated that the Committee cheered Mr. Macaulay when he did so. This paper seemed to think that the House ought to commit Mr. Macaulay to custody for his conduct. The statement made by Mr. Macaulay before the Committee was, that his conversation with Mr. Sheil on Irish politics was previous to the introduction of the Coercion Bill, and that, consequently, nothing that passed in it could be relevant to the subject of the inquiry: as a matter of social principle, he declined disclosing a private conversation unless compelled.

The report of the Select Committee most completely exculpated Mr. Sheil from the odious imputation. Mr. Hill, after the examination of his own witnesses, gave up the charge, and expressed his deep and unfeigned sorrow for having ever contributed to give it circulation. Sir Robert Peel had previously significantly remarked, "I think there is an end of the case."* Mr. Hill added;

* MacCullagh's *Memoirs of Sheil.*

that "if there were any way, consistent with honour, by which he could make reparation to Mr. Sheil, he should deem no sacrifice too great to heal the wound which his erroneous statement had inflicted." Accordingly, Mr. Sheil, in the House of Commons, publicly "forgave" Mr. Hill; but in a way that must have been very unpleasant to the honourable member's feelings. The *Times* appeared to infer that the refusal to give evidence on the plea of the sacredness of private conversation, might allow the idea that important evidence was kept in the background; and another paper invidiously said, "the Committee have reported without obtaining the necessary evidence, and Mr. Macaulay is now on his way to India." The fact, however, was obvious that the conversation in question between Mr. Hill and Mr. Macaulay was quite irrelevant to the question at issue. The charge had been a source of great agony to Mr. Sheil, whose sensitive mind would feel it with keen and peculiar severity. Among his friends no weight was attached to the charge; and till the time when his earthly remains were borne away from Florence to his fatherland, he was as much respected for his patriotism, as he was admired for his impassioned eloquence.

It was at a Court of Directors held at the East India House, on the 4th December, that Mr. Macaulay had been appointed to the office of Fourth Ordinary Member of the Council of India, subject to His Majesty's approbation. There were only a few dissentient voices. The majority in his favour was most decisive. Accordingly, on the 8th January, 1834, he was duly sworn in.

CHAPTER VII.

INDIA.

THE general impression created in town by Mr. Macaulay's appointment was, that he was an exceedingly lucky individual. The *John Bull* did not fail to indulge in sneers, and forthwith nicknamed him Bab Mac Bahauder. The office was a mere job, created expressly for him. He had broken down in what was to have been one of his great speeches last session, and the Ministers were afraid of his further assistance. However, they heartily wished him a pleasant voyage, and wondered whether there was any export duty on "sweltering venom." So far the *John Bull*. Other papers, however, which appear free from prejudiced views, ventured to doubt whether a clever essayist and popular orator really supplied the best material for the work of legislation. Would not James Mill be a better man? Would not John Austin? It is now impossible not to regret, both for his own sake and the sake of the public, that the appointment was not offered to Mr. Austin. On the evening of the day on which he was sworn in, the Directors gave a dinner to Mr. Macaulay. An amusing notice of it was made by one who was present. Macaulay rather gave himself the airs of a Lycurgus, and spoke as if he were about to bestow on the swarming millions of India the blessings of rudimentary legislation. When the news reached Calcutta

it created a large amount of interest. His admirers refreshed their memories about his speeches, essays, and poems. Feelings of the warmest interest were excited in his favour. In the meantime there was an under murmur that he was hardly the right man in the right place.

A report that a vessel had been fallen in with, which had Mr. Macaulay on board, set the Anglo-Indian society on the *qui vive*. It turned out that the report was all a mistake. By-and-by more accurate information was received. The "Asia" was arrived at last, and the Hooghly steamer had been despatched for Miss Macaulay and the rest of the passengers. As it was now towards the end of June, the great man would at once be off to the hills and refresh himself in the cool and delightful climate of the Neilgherries. *Apropos* to the occasion, the editor of the *Hurkaru* reprinted in full an article in *Tait* about Mr. Macaulay, and himself came out with a leading article on the same topic, in which he declared *Tait* had not done the subject justice. He was to be detained at Madras till a public dinner should be got up, which should allow the Madras people to taste the flavour of his renowned orations. The dinner did not come off. Undoubtedly Mr. Macaulay had too much good sense to commence his career with an oratorical display, and perhaps the Madras people proceeded on the principle of "no song, no supper." He paid a visit of ceremony to His Highness the Nabob of the Carnatic at the Chepauk Palace, and His Highness and the Prince Azeem Jah Bahadoor returned the visit. On these auspicious occasions the battery of the garrison fired a salute, and the Nabob's guns fired a salute; and under a salute of fifteen guns from the fort, Mr. Macaulay left the Presidency for the Neilgherries, where he arrived on the 26th of June.

Now commenced those Indian impressions with which we so frequently meet in his writings. To a philanthropist, and the son of a philanthropist, the condition of the people of India question must have been very interesting. In one of his invaluable Minutes he alludes to these early impressions. "What is the great difficulty which meets us whenever we meditate any extensive reform in India? It is this: that there is no helping men who will not help themselves. The phenomenon which strikes an observer with the greatest surprise, and which, more than any other, damps his hopes of being able to serve the people of this country, is their own apathy, their own passiveness under wrongs. He comes from a land in which the spirit of the meanest rises up against the insolence or injustice of the richest and the most powerful; he finds himself in a land where the patience of the oppressed invites the oppressor to repeat his injuries."

To his arrival in Madras belongs a conversational indiscretion attributed to him, which, as it seems to be corroborated by several persons, may be given. It first appeared in the form of a letter to the papers, and is commented on with absurd severity.

"You had not been forty-eight hours in India—your feet were scarcely dry from the surf of Madras—before you thought fit to declare, that, if you had your own way, in two years time not a Court of English law should exist in India. We heard this; and from that hour took the measure of your mind, of your legislative capacity, of your political impartiality, of your wisdom and moderation; we knew you for our enemy, for the enemy of every institution that stood in the path of your own power; we saw that you came hither to follow out your own interests,

to conciliate, perchance, the Company you had offended, a pledged partizan to do an appointed work; we waited for you, we heard of the extravagant indiscretion of your conversation, and we foresaw that with such a plenary power as you possessed of being ridiculous, you would, without fail, make yourself, in your laws, a public laughing-stock. Thus it has been, and thus will it be again, till the termination of your political career may leave you more leisure to turn history into ephemeral party pamphlets and polish essays which posterity will have no occasion to forget."

In the meantime the Law Commission was slowly getting into shape. Mr. Cameron of the English bar was coming out, and Mr. MacNaghten, who was on the spot, was appointed. Lycurgus by this time must have become acquainted with the ponderous Regulations and the thousand supplements. Letters from England quite explained away the imputation of a job, in reference to his appointment. In fact, it had proceeded from the Tories, and not from the Whigs. The Whig Ministers were prepared to put one of the judges into the Council, but the parties of the Duke and Sir Robert objected to the union of judicial and legislative power.

On the 25th of September Mr. Macaulay landed at Calcutta, refreshed, everybody hoped, by the trip to Ootakamund. A salute proclaimed the tidings. The expected arrival of the new Governor-General himself scarcely excited more attention. A "Bengal Civilian" commenced a series of letters respecting Hallam's *Constitutional History*, and Mr. Macaulay's review thereof, kindly giving him hints respecting his future legal proceedings. The young legislator would find in Calcutta a very tolerable imitation of the luxuries and fashions of

London, and even its literature. There is a Calcutta *Literary Gazette*, and *Nicholas Nickleby* is reprinted every month as fast as it comes out. There is drama, and the Italian opera, and French Vaudevilles. There is also music in abundance; and Mrs. Atkinson's musical *réunion* is only thinly attended, in consequence of a large dinner-party at Mr. Macaulay's. The arrival is reported—refreshing intelligence—of a cargo of ice. There is to be a dinner to Sir Charles Metcalf, and ladies are requested to attend in fancy dresses. The dinner came off, and Mr. Macaulay made his first public appearance before Calcutta society. I quote the kind words of Sir John Grant in proposing his health, and the brief but happy reply.

Sir John Grant. "I purposely omitted the name of one member of the Council of India, because I thought that, as a stranger amongst us, it became us to treat him separately and by himself. (Loud applause.) He has brought with him here a high and a well-deserved character (applause), and unless he shall entirely falsify the expectations which have been entertained of him by persons highly capable of judging, his arrival will be attended, to the inhabitants of India, with the most essential advantage. He has come here charged with the fulfilment of duties of no ordinary sort. I may, perhaps, be thought to be influenced by the habits of the profession when I say, that of all the institutions of a country, the first and most essential are its laws. To improve the institutions of a people without violating their prejudices, without counteracting the slow progress of civilisation, without hazardous experiments, but on sound principles, is a task of no ordinary nature; and the distinguished and eminent person of whom I am now speaking will permit me to say to him, that that which he has undertaken is that

which, if well performed, will reflect the greatest credit on his name; and in the performance of which he will meet with many and serious difficulties. I wish to him, and to those associated with him in the task, the utmost success. I wish them to be forwarded in their views by the assistance of all those who have influence in the society of India, and I wish the inhabitants of this country those happy results which ought to be derived from a system of wise and careful legislation. I beg to give you the health of Mr. Macaulay (loud applause), and success to the legislation of India."

Mr. Macaulay. "I did not expect when I entered this room, that I should in this manner be called on to express my gratitude. It is not easy for me, and I hope not necessary for me, to assure you how much gratitude I feel for the manner in which my health has been proposed, and the manner in which it has been received by this company. I am particularly grateful to my honourable and learned friend for coupling my name with those weighty and important words—the legislation of India. Gentlemen, I feel myself rather indisposed this evening, and can only return you my sincere thanks for the manner in which you have drunk my health, wishing you every degree of prosperity and happiness; and I particularly direct that wish to the distinguished individual, our guest; though anything that I could say in his praise might be deemed superfluous, surrounded as he is by friends of many years' standing. Seeing, as he sees, this hall filled by friends, whose friendship and admiration have been strengthened by a continued knowledge of his merits, it is impossible that he can place any value upon any tribute of respect that can be offered by a stranger. I would not, however, willingly sit down without doing honour,

not to him, but to myself, by joining the voice of one stranger with that of the society of which he is the most conspicuous ornament, and congratulating him on the manner in which he leaves us, and myself on witnessing the proof that in Indian society the path of rectitude is the path of honour." (Long and loud applause.)

A few days later, on December the 4th, came the anniversary of St. Andrew's Day. All over the world, loyal Scotchmen celebrate the glories of their country and their national saint. Mr. Macaulay presided. The speeches he made were of peculiar personal interest. They exactly explain how far he considered himself a Scotchman, and quite dispose of the many unkind reflections that have been thrown on him by Mr. Paget and others.

Upwards of two hundred persons sat down to dinner at the Town Hall, on Monday evening, to celebrate this anniversary of Scotland's Patron Saint. Mr. Macaulay, as chairman, was supported on his right by Sir Charles Metcalfe and Colonel Morrison, and on his left by Sir Frederick Adam and Sir John Grant; and Mr. Leith acted as croupier.

After the removal of the cloth, and the usual loyal toasts had been given, Mr. Macaulay said: "Gentlemen, the toast I have now to propose to you is one which I believe, in all parts of the world, Scotchmen are this night drinking with feelings of sociality and pleasure; and nowhere, I am sure, will it be drunk with feelings of greater pleasure than here, although in this country, exiles as we are, with 15,000 miles of sea between us and the country of our birth, those feelings of pleasure may be mingled in some degree with feelings of regret. At this very moment, making allowances for the difference of our relative positions on the globe we inhabit, our country-

men at home are no doubt drinking with enthusiasm the toast I am now about to propose to you—'THE LAND OF CAKES.' It is commonly said by those who seek for topics of reproach against the Scottish nation, that their patriotism has something in it too intolerant, something too exclusive. I am not sure that I can entirely vindicate them from this charge; but yet the acknowledgment sounds to me very much like an eulogium, and if there be any nation where such feelings would be excusable, it certainly is the nation which we all glory in being connected with, and our connection with which we are this evening met to commemorate. I had not the honour, Gentlemen, of being born in Scotland, neither was I educated there, and I have only visited it as a stranger and a traveller; but it is impossible for any one so to visit it without being struck by its beauties. I have never seen any country equally interesting, even to a person who contemplated it without the prejudices of a native. It is not easy, I think, to explain from what causes that peculiar interest arises; but I think that it is this—that it is the only country in which you find objects close together that produce at once recollections of ancient and modern times. There you find objects which remind you of events that took place in the sixteenth century, close to others of modern date. There you find all those things that have an extraordinary hold on the hearts of the uncultivated inhabitants, as well as all those that can be found in the most civilised countries on the earth; and I do not know any country which contains so much that moves the imagination, and at the same time fully satisfies and gratifies the reason. In that country has been found, from the middle ages, even down to our own time, the characteristics of a rude state of society, a barbaresque

costume, a rude hospitality; and close to all these you have the most extraordinary miracles of industry and art. The common traveller, as he wanders through that country, follows the course of some meandering brook, which in one place he finds surrounded by scenes of the rudest and wildest nature; and going a little further, he finds the water of the same brook the moving principle of a vast manufactory, and the roar of the cataract mingling with the thunders of mechanical power. As I am speaking to Scotchmen, if I were to select one scene which at once displays objects of a past and present age, I would select that beautiful capital which consists of a mass such as is not to be seen in any other part of Europe. Every step you take fills you with recollections of the past, and you are conveyed in imagination to the sixteenth century. You have only to turn round, and you see everything that calls you back to present times, and beyond it a fleet of steam-vessels, which our ancestors would have considered magical. This is the single charm. There is no country in Europe, excepting Greece and Italy, that so forcibly reminds you of times that are gone by; and there is no country in the world, not even America, that displays ruder scenes of primeval nature. The cause of this, I believe, is, that prodigiously rapid increase which our country has made within the last century in wealth and knowledge. There is no country that has made so vast a stride in improvement in the last century as Scotland. We have abundant reasons, on many accounts, to drink prosperity to this country with pride and pleasure. I shall not dwell on the many titles it possesses to the gratitude of mankind, on what it has done for science and political liberty: nor will I enumerate to you the number of eminent and pre-eminent men it has produced,

whose names must be familiar to your ears. I shall only say this, that it appears to me, that while we join in this festivity, we are sympathising with those who are taking it in other parts of the globe; and I am sure you will all heartily join with me in drinking, with all the honours, 'THE LAND OF CAKES.'"

Mr. Macaulay, in responding to the toast of his health, said—"It is needless for me, I am sure, to say that I return you my most hearty thanks for the manner in which my health has been proposed and drunk. It has given me the greatest pleasure to attend a society so far from Europe where there is so much of British, so much of Scotch feeling—of all those feelings which form the best connection between ourselves and our native country. I have already told you that I am not a Scotchman by birth or by education, but I am by descent, and my affection is equally divided between the two parts of the island; and this brings me to my next toast, which I shall give before I sit down. You will be surprised that one who calls himself as much of an Englishman as a Scotchman should give with so much heartiness as I do 'The memory of Sir William Wallace and of Robert Bruce,' and if those distinguished men had gained their victories in any vulgar war, whether on behalf of England or of Scotland, it would have been by no means justifiable in me to propose a health that could in any way have recalled irritating recollections; but it is as much the English as the Scotch part of the company that will assent to the justice of that toast. In England we can have no other feeling than that of respect for men who stood up in bad times to maintain the independence of their country against unjust aggression. No Englishman can look down on them—a commoner who first broke through the face of aristocracy,

and by his own merits placed himself in the dignified station of Regent of his country, and a King who placed himself at the head of his people and fought with them on foot in defence of their liberties; I conceive that these two eminent men, whose health I intend to propose, were benefactors not less to the southern than to the northern part of the island. No greater calamity could have befallen England than if, from the want of such men, she had been able to place on Scotland the yoke she abhorred, and to have her, even down to this time perhaps a conquered nation. I am not aware that I touch upon political feelings, from which I am desirous to abstain, when I say that it would have been a most happy thing for the British Empire if Ireland had had her Wallace and her Bruce—if it had not in those dark ages come by conquest under the arbitrary yoke of England, but had been, like Scotland, gradually amalgamated with England by pacific measures. On the other hand, it would be the greatest calamity if at that time we had been cursed with another Ireland; if, from the want of such men, we had acquired a country to be governed through a succession of ages by military force. It is not as an Englishman—not as a Scotchman—but with an undivided British heart that I propose to you the health of 'Sir William Wallace and Robert Bruce.'"

Mr. Macaulay. "The toast which I am now about to propose is extremely well chosen for such an occasion. It is 'The memory of Robert Burns.' It is extremely well chosen from the whole of the literature of Scotland, rich as it is in great names from the earliest times. We can boast of a Buchanan, a Smith, a Sir Walter Scott, and many other names of literary celebrity; yet I confess, if I looked out for a representative of the national genius, for a mind

which abounded with the flavour of the soil of all the writers Scotland ever produced, I should certainly fix upon Burns. As for those other eminent men, they were acquainted with the literature of many ages; to them classic learning was familiar; but Burns had nothing but the literature of the plain Scotch peasant. He wrote plain Scotch. Whenever he attempted to write English, in my opinion, he always fell below himself; and I do not feel any great admiration for any of his works excepting those that he wrote in his own native dialect. His seems to have been a mind filled with images of the cottages and fields in which he passed his youth. His language is the plain language of Scotland, and with nothing but these materials and his own original genius, he came forth in the most benighted period of English poetry, and produced a succession of works which, if they do not equal those of Shakespeare and Milton, are imbued with the same spark and spirit that are to be found in poets of the first class. I think, therefore, that your stewards have done most wisely in selecting his memory as an object of our respect, because I conceive it would be impossible to find in the literature of any country any man so much the image of the mind of his country as he. I have, therefore, much pleasure in proposing the health of 'Robert Burns.'"

In proposing the next toast Mr. Macaulay said: "The toast which stands next on the list is the 'Civil Service of India,' and there can be no toast that I would propose with greater satisfaction. I have had but a short opportunity of observing the conduct and characters of the public functionaries in this country, but I have had the opportunity of comparing the functionaries here with similar ones at home—of comparing those who here exercise the higher powers of government with those who

exercise similar powers at home—and judging impartially, and making every allowance for the different state of things and the early ages at which they leave their native country, I have no hesitation in saying that the civil and military services in this country are, as far as I am able to judge, no way inferior to those in Europe. The politics of India are necessarily different from the politics of Europe; the revenue system here is not the same as it is at home; the diplomacy required with Oude and Joudpore is not the same as that required with Paris or Madrid; the details of business are different; the mode in which the two countries are governed is different—the government of the one is carried on by means of the tongue, of the other by the pen; of one by open discussion in Parliament, of the other by minutes and despatches—but when you have made allowances for these differences, you will be inclined to say, as I without hesitation do, that I have found in India abilities for the purposes of government diplomacy equal to any I have ever seen employed, having seen the most eminent that are employed, in the government of England. I am convinced we shall drink this toast with the greater satisfaction when we consider how large a proportion Scotland has furnished to the military and civil services of India. Munro and Elphinstone were both Scotchmen. Munro died in this country, and I leave his eulogium to those who best knew him. Elphinstone I have seen. I have seen him in England, in a society widely different to that to which he had been accustomed. I have seen him supporting the dignity of his own character in the crowds of London, who seemed at once to be impressed with the idea that they were approaching a great man. It is difficult to describe what I mean; but there are some here who

will, no doubt, understand me when I say that I never saw any man who carried about him more of the character of greatness than he did; it was impossible when you saw him not to think that you spoke to a very great man. He was one of the very few who enjoyed in England a fame commensurate with his merits; for it is a fact that cannot be denied, that the public in England pay little attention to the proceedings of this country, or to the merits of its public services. This is a circumstance that I have often, when speaking to him, regretted, imperfectly as I was then acquainted with the merits of those services; and it is a circumstance which, since I have become better acquainted with them, I regret still more. It is among the thoughts that are the most agreeable to me that I may be able to awake a more just appreciation of the merits of those services—to turn the attention of those who only want better information to act differently to the pre-eminent services which have been here rendered to the British Empire and to the honour of the British name by the servants of the Company. Gentlemen, I propose with the greatest pleasure the 'Civil Service of India.'"

The Law Commission very slowly got into work. Although the Parliamentary limit was brought down from five to three, it was nearly a year from the arrival of Mr. Macaulay before any serious work was thought about. About this time the *Asiatic Journal* rectified an assertion made in the Court of Proprietors that his kinsman General Macaulay made nineteen thousand a year as Political Resident at Travancore, "the aggregate being less than one-fourth of that amount." The General Orders of June 24, 1835, announce Mr. Macaulay's appointment by the Local Government as Chief of the Law Commission, an appointment that would reasonably

though not necessarily follow from his appointment as the Law Member of the Supreme Council. From the first, the labours of the Commission excited great attention; there was no lack of publications ventilating the subject, and throwing a great deal of light on its various bearings. A resolution was passed by the Council of India, that the draft of every law shall be printed and published for general information six weeks before it is reconsidered to be finally passed by the Legislative Council. At this early period appeared a report which assumed in one paper the form of a statement that Mr. Macaulay's recall was resolved on by the Court; the report was inaccurate, and it does not appear that it ever possessed any degree of truth. It certainly seems that the act designed that the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, or some other legal functionary, was meant to be the Law Member of Council, and that this was the reason why the Law Member was deprived of the right of voting in any other than his legislative capacity. One of the Mofussil (provincial) papers the *Agra Ukhbar*, while eloquent in his praises questions his legislative powers, and says, with some point, "We fear Martinus Scriblerus was right in introducing the use of the division of labour in the working of the wonders of the universe; and that Providence makes one man to perform great deeds and another to review them in the Quarterlies." One law at least was enacted with general approbation, the establishment of one uniform gold and silver coinage to be current all over India. This was the first Indian coinage of the precious metals in the name and bearing the head of the Sovereign of Great Britain and the designation of the Company. The absurdity of coining in the name of the pageant king of Delhi was cast off, and to the people

of the East the change of coinage would be an indisputable indication of our sovereignty.

The arrival of Mr. Cameron in Calcutta completed the members of the Law Commission, and enabled them at once to enter upon their labours. Some months previously Government had laid down certain instructions for their conduct, and these had been published for general information. They were principally to be concerned with the formation of a criminal code. They were to proceed with the code in sections, and each section, when completed and adopted by the Legislative Council, was to have the force of law. A code was much needed, and it was hoped that this, under the management of Mr. Macaulay, would be worthy of a great nation and of a great legislator. Napoleon declared that he should go down to posterity with his code in hand, and his code has done more for the fame of Justinian, than all the victories of the ill-requited Belisarius. An objection was pointed out *in limine* which has certainly great force. The Commissioners were instructed to move about the countries, to institute inquiries, to make observations. The Commission consisted of four Englishmen, two London barristers, a gentleman from Madras, and a gentleman from Bombay. The seventy millions of natives for whom the laws were to be made, were totally unrepresented in the Council. And how could men with no knowledge of their language and books, no sympathy with their feelings and prejudices, no acquaintance with their customs and their anomalies, produce the pithy intelligible maxims for a code that should become as familiar to the memory of the Indian as the sacred texts of the Shastras. The *Friend of India*, a periodical to whose courteous and moderate language great weight is always to be attached,

urged such considerations, and urged that beyond the pale of the Commission or the Commissioners there were men whose long experience in India would enable them to correct the necessary imperfections that were found. Justinian had appointed thirty-eight jurists to act in concert with the President in constructing the Code, the Institutes, and the Pandects, and, though an intolerant man, had selected that President from his pagan subjects.

The Commissioners appear to have been conscientious and active. Various laws were passed, some of them, it is said, even in advance of the public necessities. They also paid visits to the Courts in person in order to understand the working of the criminal laws. Before long, however, there were unpleasant indications of a heated state of feeling. There appears to have then existed in Calcutta considerable jealousy and antagonism between the civil servants of the Company and English residents other than civil servants. The fashioable exclusiveness, real or affected, or both, appears to have been productive of much sore feeling; and certainly indications of this kind, if intended to be galling and annoying, were on every consideration to be most strongly condemned. The *Bengal Herald* remarks: "The great mistakes which writers on Calcutta society commit is in not distinguishing between what is merely so called in India and the community at large of the metropolis. The term 'society' has a very peculiar meaning in India. In England, in order to convey that meaning, an epithet is always employed. Thus, when Mrs. Butler writes to express her contempt for the gentlemen of the press, she observes, that newspaper editors are never admitted into good society in England. In Calcutta the same idea

would be expressed without the epithet; to say a man is not in society is perfectly understood here to mean that he is not admitted into the circles of fashion: no one supposes that one so spoken of may not be highly respectable and highly intelligent." At this time the Indian press began to show symptoms of hostility towards Mr. Macaulay. As literary men they would have been peculiarly sensible of the advantage of his alliance and good offices, and might have hoped through him, as one of their own order, though far removed in rank, to have gained admittance to that society which in some cases they would have adorned, and from which they were unjustly and uncharitably excluded. This disappointment was not unnatural, and this deepened into persistent dislike of Mr. Macaulay and his measures, which, if it ever became personal and vindictive — and we much suspect that this in some instances might be the case — would call for condemnation, and go far to justify a system of exclusion.

One of the acts of the Commission was a wise and merciful provision of much importance. Judges were allowed to mitigate their sentences in capital cases, and also to set a convict at liberty when the case was such as to warrant a recommendation for a free pardon. It was the custom of the Law Commissioners to issue circulars when they required special information on any subject. The *Agra Ukhbar* published one of these circulars in reference to the propriety of discontinuing the use of oaths in the administration of public justice. Another circular was also published on the subject of Indian slavery. This produced a letter from Mr. Millett, the secretary to the Law Commission, to Mr. Harrington, the officiating registrar to the Courts of Sudder Dewannee,

and Nizamut Adawlut, and these Courts issued a circular to all commissioners, judges, magistrates, and assistant magistrates, containing a copy of the letter, and strictly prohibiting the publication of such circulars. The following is a much criticised paragraph of the letter in which the pen of Mr. Millett was supposed to speak the language of Mr. Macaulay:—

"In performance of the arduous work in which they are engaged, the Commissioners may have occasion to have free and unreserved communication on various points with judicial functionaries, imparting to them sometimes crude ideas formed on the first view of questions, for the determination of which it is necessary to seek the aid of experience and local information not possessed by the Commissioners themselves. And the judges, I am directed to observe, will doubtless at once perceive that such freedom of correspondence must be materially checked unless the Commissioners are assured that publicity will not be given to any of their letters without either their own concurrence or the authority of the Government of India."

The language of this letter appears to be fair and reasonable enough. It is ungenerous that the Commissioners were sensitive about exposing an unavoidable ignorance of details which they frankly avow. It was urged by the press that if they wanted information, the best way was to allow the publication of their want, and then the press would not fail to afford them an ample amount of evidence and discussion. They pointed to the good they had already effected by criticisms on laws. Such was the modification of the Badge and Indigo regulations. Such was the introduction of preambles to their Acts, which, although enjoined by Parliament, had been

unaccountably omitted, and by the omission had changed reasonable laws into arbitrary edicts. Perhaps the Commission think it unbecoming to appear ignorant on any matter on which they have to legislate. But if nothing but the experience of its members is to be looked to, the best plan would be at once to send back Mr. Macaulay to a place where his practical knowledge will be more effective.

Henceforth, though praise was given to measures unquestionably good, as in the protection afforded to the indigo planters against the Zemindars, the general tone of criticism is highly unfriendly. It was complained that the proceedings of the Commission were conducted in secresy and darkness. The English in India were to have nothing to do with the law by which they were to live but to obey it. The renewal of the Insolvent Law for three years, a law said to be condemned by every barrister and every judge, was animadverted on. It was complained that the main principle adopted by Mr. Macaulay and his colleagues were that every Englishman not in the Company's service, and not in the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court, is a *foreigner*. The feeling of dislike reached its height by the law rescinding the 107th section, cap. 155, of the statute 53rd of Geo. III., whereby the right of appeal by British-born subjects to the Supreme Court is affirmed. The effect of the rescission would be that Indian and British subjects would stand on the same legal footing. At first the agitation on the subject was inconsiderable. A petition was presented to the Governor-General. The secretary to the Government of India, Mr. W. H. MacNaghten, returned an answer to the petition, in which, after carefully discussing the different points mooted, it was concluded "on the whole, his Lordship in

Council sees no reason to doubt the expediency of passing the law in question."

A portion at least of the Calcutta public, and that an active and noisy one, were dissatisfied with this decision, and began to agitate. They found another grievance. Were not the Commissioners bound to make reports from time to time? Where were these reports? Why had they not been published? A petition was made to the local government requesting to be informed as to the law under which British-born subjects resident in the Mofussil (interior) shall live after the new measure was passed. They were told somewhat curtly in answer, "you are to live under just so much of Indian law as you lived under before"—a reply of which Mr. Macaulay got the credit; and he was assured solemnly, though oddly, by the editor of the *Hurkaru*, that he "had unwhigged himself for ever." He was also defined as being "a martyr offered up at the shrine of public reprobation for the ultimate good of India."

The revised tariff issued about this time was favourably received. The agitation against the Act, now called the "Black Act," proceeded. They summoned a public meeting. They determined to appeal to Parliament. They sent circulars into the Mofussil to collect opinions, although in this quarter they did not meet with such success as their strenuous endeavours deserved. The course adopted towards Mr. Macaulay was personal and scandalous in the highest degree. His moral character was not spared to such an extent that most probably the law of libel was infringed. Act Number Eleven, 1836 (such is its proper style), certainly upset the tranquillity of Calcutta, and, said the papers, "we hold and do consider the honourable fourth member of the Council mainly

responsible in this enactment." The public meeting mentioned took place on Saturday, June 18, 1836, at the Town Hall, convened by the sheriff, who presided. There were about eight hundred people present. A Mr. Tucker, a voluble lawyer, who succeeded in reaping considerable advantage from the controversy, opened the case amid great applause. The resolution was seconded by Mr. Stocqueler. A great deal of patriotic eloquence was talked about the rights of Englishmen, &c., and Mr. Longueville Clarke would tell the tyrant—

"There yawns the sack, and yonder rolls the sea."

A ludicrous incident occurred at this point. A certain Captain Rider rose and said—"Gentlemen, I come before you in the character of a British seaman, and on that ground claim your attention for a few moments. Gentlemen, there has been much talk during the evening of laws and regulations, and rights and liberties, and all that; but you all seem to have forgotten that this, gentlemen, is the anniversary of the Battle of Waterloo." Here there was loud laughter and cheers. "Gentlemen, I beg to propose, and I call on the statue of Lord Cornwallis and yourselves to join me in three cheers for the Duke of Wellington and the Battle of Waterloo." On this ensued furious cheers and renewed laughter, waving of hats and handkerchiefs, the chairman striving to restore order and decorum. The agitators were much disgusted, and proclaimed the whole proceedings shameful. The meeting was shortly afterwards adjourned to the next Monday evening, which at least would not labour under the disadvantage of being the anniversary of the Battle of Waterloo. The objectionable Captain Rider, however, attended again, and excited great uproar by his renewed

allusions to the great battle. "Let us give three cheers for the Battle of Waterloo, and then I'll propose an amendment which shall go to the whole question." Resolutions were carried condemning the Act, petitioning Parliament, appointing committees in Calcutta and England, electing a permanent secretary, and sending Mr. Tucker as their paid agent to England to advocate their interests.

Everything was done to give a popular aspect to the cause. A popular question, however, is one thing in London, and another in Calcutta. We at this point quote Mr. Macaulay's criticism on the proceedings, pointing out the distinction between the two cases:—

"The political phraseology of the English in India is the same with the political phraseology of our countrymen at home. But it is never to be forgotten that the same words stand for different things at London and Calcutta. We hear much about public opinion—the love of liberty—the influence of the press: but public opinion, in this sense, means the opinion of 500 persons who have no taste, feeling, or interest in common with the 50,000,000 among whom they live; and the love of liberty means the strong objections which the 500 feel for every measure that can prevent them from acting as they choose towards the 50,000,000; while the press is altogether supported by the 500, and has no motive to plead for the bulk of the population. The petitioners think it hard that questions which ought to be decided by the law of England should be decided by judges not bred to the study of that law. Why is this harder than that questions of Hindoo law and Mahomedan law should every day be decided by judges of the Supreme Court, who were never bred to the study of the Hindoo or

Mahomedan jurisprudence? Why is it a greater evil that a few hundreds of Englishmen should be under the jurisdiction of a court which conducts its proceedings in Persian, than that some hundreds of thousands of natives should be under the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court which conducts its proceedings in English? It is hard, according to the petitioners, that Englishmen should go before courts the pleaders of which do not understand the English laws or language. Why harder than that natives should be forced to go before the Supreme Court, in which there is not a single barrister who has studied oriental law, or who can speak an oriental language?"

Happily, the public life of Mr. Macaulay in India is also concerned with more peaceful scenes. We find him attending the examination at the Medical College. With pleasure we find him working a whole day at a school examination. We find a very interesting account of a splendid party given by a wealthy native, who substituted an "elegant and refined" entertainment for the vulgar crowd and tinsel glare otherwise too common. One of the India papers said of Mr. Macaulay during his residence—"Mr. Macaulay had no privacy, if we may use the term. He was always as if before the public; and whether at the Town Hall or a Berra Konnah in Chowringee, he was ever the same,—it was always 'talkee for talkee' with him. It may be, however, that he possessed one grand redeeming feature: he was frank and open in his dislike or indifference. He contemned public opinion, and was indifferent to or disliked society, and he took no pains to conceal the one or the other." On this occasion all the beauty and fashion of Calcutta was present, benign influences to which it was said that the legal member was inhumanly insensible. On this occasion the host,

Dwarkonath Tagore, did things in a sumptuous fashion. The guests moved through rooms rich in more than the fabled magnificence of the East, combined with the statuary and decorations of Western art. Music, in which the lyric genius of Italy was represented by the best available talent of the East, occupied the earlier hours before the dancing commenced. The ices and champagne of the London party abounded, with all the luxurious adjuncts of an oriental festivity. Coloured lights, then recently imported from Europe, illumined the dark masses of foliage in the rear. The scene described appears to have been as unique as it was magnificent.

The opposition to the Law Commission continued steady enough. A draught Act respecting the competency of witnesses was objected to. A grievance was got up. Some wretched man was obliged to stop in prison till a regulation could be framed by the commissioners to meet the case. Finally, the penal code came forth, and substantially under this the Hindoo population will hereafter have to live. Although this code has been reprinted at various times, and on various occasions, and its merits have justly assured this, yet practically it is quite unknown, and indeed inaccessible to English readers. The document is most important in itself, and through it the influence of Macaulay will be most widely and most permanently felt. It was a work to which he devoted some of the best years of his life. Every page bears the impress of his peculiar character. I shall therefore endeavour to give a view of it, which shall possess some degree of fullness.

This important piece of jurisdiction consists of three parts:—

1. A Prefatory Letter to Lord Auckland, the Governor-General in Council.

2. The Body of the Code, in twenty-six chapters, with explanations, exceptions, and illustrations.

3. Notes, eighteen in number, from A to R.

We first quote the preparatory matter in the first part:—

"The time which has been employed in framing this body of law will not be thought long by any person who is acquainted with the nature of the labour which such works require, and with the history of other works of the same kind. We should, however, have been able to lay it before your Lordship in Council many months earlier but for a succession of unfortunate circumstances, against which it was impossible to provide.

"It is hardly necessary for us to entreat your Lordship in Council to examine with candour the work which we now submit to you. To the ignorant and inexperienced the task in which we have been engaged may appear easy and simple. But the members of the Indian Government are doubtless well aware that it is among the most difficult tasks in which the human mind can be employed; that persons placed in circumstances far more favourable than ours have attempted it with very doubtful success; that the best codes extant, if malignantly criticised, will be found to furnish matter for censure in every page; that the most copious and precise of human languages furnish but a very imperfect machinery to the legislator; that, in a work so extensive and complicated as that on which we have been employed, there will inevitably be, in spite of the most anxious care, some omissions and some inconsistencies; and that we have done as much as could reasonably be expected from us if we have furnished the

Government with that which may, by suggestions from experienced and judicious persons, be improved into a good code.

"Your Lordship in Council will be prepared to find in this performance those defects which must necessarily be found in the first portion of a code. Such is the relation which exists between the different parts of the law, that no part can be brought to perfection while the other parts remain rude. The penal code cannot be clear and explicit while the substantive civil law and the law of procedure are dark and confused. While the rights of individuals and the powers of public functionaries are uncertain, it cannot always be certain whether those rights have been attacked, or those powers exceeded.

"Your Lordship in Council will perceive that the system of penal law which we propose is not a digest of any existing system, and that no existing system has furnished us even with a groundwork. We trust that your Lordship in Council will not hence infer that we have neglected to inquire, as we are commanded to do by Parliament, into the present state of that part of the law, or that in other parts of our labours we are likely to recommend unsparing innovation, and the entire sweeping away of ancient usages. We are perfectly aware of the value of that sanction which long prescription and national feeling give to institutions. We are perfectly aware that lawgivers ought not to disregard even the unreasonable prejudices of those for whom they legislate. So sensible are we of the importance of these considerations, that, though there are not the same objections to innovation in penal legislation as to innovation affecting vested rights of property, yet, if we had found India in possession of a system of criminal law which the people

regarded with partiality, we should have been inclined rather to ascertain it, to digest it, and moderately to correct it, than to propose a system fundamentally different.

"But it appears to us that none of the systems of penal law established in British India has any claim to our attention, except what it may derive from its own intrinsic excellence. All those systems are foreign. All were introduced by conquerors differing in race, manners, language and religion from the great mass of the people. The criminal law of the Hindoos was long ago superseded, through the greater part of the territories now subject to the Company, by that of the Mahomedans, and is certainly the last system of criminal law which an enlightened and humane Government would be disposed to revive. The Mahomedan criminal law has in its turn been superseded, to a great extent, by the British Regulations."

The use of illustrations, which is carried to a very remarkable extent, is thus explained:—

"One peculiarity in the manner in which this code is framed will immediately strike your Lordship in Council, —we mean the copious use of illustrations. These illustrations will, we trust, greatly facilitate the understanding of the law, and will at the same time often serve as a defence of the law. In our definitions we have repeatedly found ourselves under the necessity of sacrificing neatness and perspicuity to precision, and of using harsh expressions because we could find no other expressions which would convey our whole meaning, and no more than our whole meaning. Such definitions standing by themselves might repel and perplex the reader, and would perhaps be fully comprehended only by a few students after long application. Yet such definitions are found, and must be

found, in every system of law which aims at accuracy. A legislator may, if he thinks fit, avoid such definitions, and by avoiding them he will give a smoother and more attractive appearance to his workmanship; but in that case he flinches from a duty which he ought to perform, and which somebody must perform. If this necessary but most disagreeable work be not performed by the law-giver once for all, it must be constantly performed in a rude and imperfect manner by every judge in the empire, and will probably be performed by no two judges in the same way. We have therefore thought it right not to shrink from the task of framing these unpleasing but indispensable parts of a code. And we hope that when each of these definitions is followed by a collection of cases falling under it, and of cases which, though at first sight they appear to fall under it, do not really fall under it, the definition and the reasons which led to the adoption of it will be readily understood. The illustrations will lead the mind of the student through the same steps by which the minds of those who framed the law proceeded, and may sometimes show him that a phrase which may have struck him as uncouth, or a distinction which he may have thought idle, was deliberately adopted for the purpose of including or excluding a large class of important cases. In the study of geometry it is constantly found that a theorem which, read by itself, conveyed no distinct meaning to the mind, becomes perfectly clear as soon as the reader casts his eye over the statement of the individual case taken for the purpose of demonstration. Our illustrations, we trust, will in a similar manner facilitate the study of the law.

"Thus the code will be at once a statute book and a collection of decided cases. The decided cases in the

code will differ from the decided cases in the English law books in two most important points. In the first place, our illustrations are never intended to supply any omission in the written law, nor do they ever, in our opinion, put a strain on the written law. They are merely instances of the practical application of the written law to the affairs of mankind. Secondly, they are cases decided not by the judges but by the legislature, by those who make the law, and who must know more certainly than any judge can know what the law is which they mean to make.

"Your Lordship in Council will see that we have not proposed to except from the operation of this code any of the ancient sovereign houses of India residing within the Company's territories. Whether any such exception ought to be made, is a question which, without a more accurate knowledge than we possess of existing treaties, of the sense in which those treaties have been understood, of the history of negotiations, of the temper and of the power of particular families, and of the feeling of the body of the people towards those families, we could not venture to decide. We will only beg permission most respectfully to observe that every such exception is an evil; that it is an evil that any man should be above the law; that it is a still greater evil that the public should be taught to regard as a high and enviable distinction the privilege of being above the law; that the longer such privileges are suffered to last, the more difficult it is to take them away; that there can scarcely ever be a fairer opportunity for taking them away than at the time when the Government promulgates a new code binding alike on persons of different races and religions; and that we greatly doubt whether any consideration, except that

of public faith solemnly pledged, deserves to be weighed against the advantages of equal justice.

"The peculiar state of public feelings in this country may render it advisable to frame the law of procedure in such a manner that families of high rank may be dispensed, as far as possible, from the necessity of performing acts which are here regarded, however unreasonably, as humiliating. But though it may be proper to make wide distinctions as respects form, there ought in our opinion to be, as respects substance, no distinctions except those which the Government is bound by express engagements to make. That a man of rank should be examined with particular ceremonies or in a particular place may, in the present state of Indian society, be highly expedient. But that a man of any rank should be allowed to commit crimes with impunity must in every state of society be most pernicious.

"In conclusion, we beg respectfully to suggest that, if your Lordship in Council is disposed to adopt the code which we have framed, it is most desirable that the native population should, with as little delay as possible, be furnished with good versions of it in their own languages. Such versions, in our opinion, can be produced only by the combined labours of enlightened Europeans and natives; and it is not probable that men competent to execute all the translations which will be required would be found in any single province of India. We are sensible that the difficulty of procuring good translations will be great; but we believe that the means at the disposal of your Lordship in Council are sufficient to overcome every difficulty; and we are confident that your Lordship in Council will not grudge anything that may be necessary for the purpose of enabling the people who are placed

under your care to know what that law is according to which they are required to live."

It would obviously be impossible to go into the details of the Code. We subjoin a list of the chapters.

I. General Explanations.
II. Of Punishments.
III. General Exceptions.
IV. Of Abetment.
V. Of Offences against the State.
VI. Of Offences relating to the Army and Navy.
VII. Of Offences against the Public Tranquillity.
VIII. Of the Abuse of the Powers of Public Servants.
IX. Of Contempts of the Lawful Authority of Public Servants.
X. Of Offences against Public Justice.
XI. Of Offences relating to the Revenue.
XII. Of Offences relating to Coin.
XIII. Of Offences relating to Weights and Measures.
XIV. Of Offences affecting the Public Health, Safety and Convenience.
XV. Of Offences relating to Religion and Caste.
XVI. Of Illegal Entrance into and Residence in the Territories of the East India Company.
XVII. Of Offences relating to the Press.
XVIII. Of Offences relating to the Human Body.
XIX. Of Offences against Property.
XX. Of Offences relating to Documents.
XXI. Of Offences relating to Property-marks.
XXII. Of the Illegal Pursuit of Legal Rights.
XXIII. Of the Criminal Breach of Contracts of Service.
XXIV. Of Offences relating to Marriage.
XXV. Of Defamation.
XXVI. Of Criminal Intimidation, Insult and Annoyance.

The use of copious illustrations is just what we should have expected from Mr. Macaulay, and most of them were doubtless supplied by his own vivid and imaginative mind. Some of them are interesting, some ingenious, and some of them highly amusing. Some of the cases suggested certainly appear too trivial and absurd for serious legislation. Such are the following:—

"A., a servant in Z.'s house, having occasion to write a letter, dips a pen in ink, the property of Z. Here, though the act of A. may fall under the definition of theft, A. has committed no offence.

"A., a friend of Z., calls at Z.'s house, in Z.'s absence, and writes and seals several letters there with Z.'s paper and wax without asking any person's permission. Here, if the acquaintance between A. and Z. be such that, according to the usages of society, the consent of Z. to such use of his property must be implied thence, A. has committed no offence.

"A. gets into a public carriage in which Z. is sitting, and in seating himself slightly hurts Z. by pressing him against the side of the carriage. Here, though A.'s act falls within the definition in Clause 316, yet, if the whole harm caused was so slight that no man of ordinary sense and temper would complain of such harm, A. has committed no offence."

Probably also the following instances:—

"A. illegally omits to take proper order with a furious buffalo which is in his possession (see Clause 273), and thus voluntarily deters Z. from passing along a road along which Z. has a right to pass. A. wrongfully restrains Z.

"A. threatens to set a savage dog at Z., if Z. goes along a path along which Z. has a right to go. Z. is thus prevented from going along that path. A. wrongfully restrains Z.

"In the last illustration, if the dog is not really savage, but if A. voluntarily causes Z. to think that it is savage, and thereby prevents Z. from going along the path, A. wrongfully restrains Z."

Some of the incidents ought to be classified together, and included under a chapter entitled "Practical Jokes."

We wonder if the legislator, with irate feeling, was meditating on some ancient joke played upon him while a studious undergraduate by the banks of the Cam:

"Z. is sitting in a moored boat on a river. A. unfastens the moorings, and thus intentionally causes the boat to drift down the stream. Here A. intentionally causes motion to Z., and he does this by disposing substances in such a manner that the motion is produced without any other act on any person's part. A. has therefore intentionally used force to Z.; and if he has done so without Z.'s consent, in order to the committing of any offence, or intending or knowing it to be likely that this use of force may cause injury, fear or annoyance to Z., A. has committed an assault."

This unfortunate individual, Z., has to suffer from another and even more unpleasant joke:

"Z. is bathing. A. pours into the bath water which he knows to be boiling. Here, A. intentionally by his own bodily power causes such motion in the boiling water as brings that water into contact with Z., or with other water so situated that such contact must affect Z.'s sense of feeling. A. has therefore intentionally used force to Z., and if he has done this without Z.'s consent, intending or knowing it to be likely that he may thereby cause injury, fear or annoyance to Z., A. has committed an assault."

Some of the incidents mentioned in the cases are highly dramatic. They may have been suggested by some good anecdote, or might afford material for a good story:

"Z. is carried off by a tiger. A. fires at the tiger, knowing it to be likely that the shot may kill Z., but not intending to kill Z., and in good faith intending Z.'s benefit. The tiger drops Z. It appears that A.'s ball

has given Z. a mortal wound. Nevertheless A. has committed no offence.

"A., with the intention of causing Z. to be convicted of a criminal conspiracy, writes a letter in imitation of Z.'s handwriting, purporting to be addressed to an accomplice in such criminal conspiracy, and puts the letter in a place which he knows that the officers of the police are likely to search. A. has fabricated false evidence."

Here we have the very case of Lady Macbeth and the grooms:

"A., after wounding a person with a knife, goes into the room where Z. is sleeping, smears Z.'s clothes with blood, and lays the knife under Z.'s pillow, intending not only that suspicion may thereby be turned away from himself, but also that Z. may be convicted of voluntarily causing grievous hurt. A. is liable to punishment as a fabricator of false evidence."

And here we have an incident in the life of our old favourite, Jack the Giant Killer. In Jack's case there were certainly "extenuating circumstances:"

"A. lays sticks and turf over a pit, with the intention of thereby causing death, or with the knowledge that death is likely to be thereby caused. Z., believing the ground to be firm, treads on it, falls in, and is killed. A. has committed the offence of voluntary culpable homicide."

We proceed to some legislature concerning certain points of morality which may arise in reference to books:

"A. takes up a book belonging to Z., and reads it, not having any right over the book, and not having the consent of any person entitled to authorise A. so to do. A. trespasses."

We think this is rather severe upon A. The proper

law would be, that A. should be held to trespass if he did not lay down the book when told. The law would press with undue severity on the regular book-worm.

"A. says of a book published by Z., 'Z.'s book is foolish, Z. must be a weak man. Z.'s book is indecent, Z. must be a man of impure mind.' A. is within this exception if he says this in good faith, inasmuch as the opinion which he expresses of Z. respects Z.'s character only so far as it appears in Z.'s book, and no further.

"A. being exasperated at a passage in a book which is lying on the counter of Z., a bookseller, snatches it up, and tears it to pieces. A. has not committed theft, as he has not acted fraudulently, though he may have committed criminal trespass and mischief.

"A., being on friendly terms with Z., goes into Z.'s library, in Z.'s absence, and takes away a book without Z.'s express consent. Here, it is probable that A. may have conceived that he had Z.'s implied consent to use Z.'s books. If this was A.'s impression, A. has not committed theft."

It may be regretted that Mr. Macaulay did not apply his legislation to those whom Sir Walter Scott called good book-keepers, though they might be bad arithmeticians, —with a kindred clause bearing reference to umbrellas.

Next in order we have the notes, which in some cases would more properly deserve the name of essays. First of these we have a very careful and luminous paper on the punishment of death: showing, with the force of absolute demonstration, the propriety of retaining it in cases of murder, and of abolishing it in all other cases.

"First among the punishments provided for offences by this code stands death. No argument that has been brought to our notice has satisfied us that it would be

desirable wholly to dispense with this punishment. But we are convinced that it ought to be very sparingly inflicted; and we propose to employ it only in cases where either murder or the highest offence against the State has been committed.

"We are not apprehensive that we shall be thought by many persons to have resorted too frequently to capital punishment; but we think it probable that many, even of those who condemn the English statute-book as sanguinary, may think that our code errs on the other side. They may be of opinion that gang-robbery and the cruel mutilation of the person ought to be punished with death. These are doubtless offences which, if we looked only at their enormity, at the evil which they produce, at the terror which they spread through society, at the depravity which they indicate, we might be inclined to punish capitally. But atrocious as they are, they cannot, as it appears to us, be placed in the same class with murder. To the great majority of mankind, nothing is so dear as life. And we are of opinion that to put robbers and mutilators on the same footing with murderers is an arrangement which diminishes the security of life.

"There is in practice a close connexion between murder and most of those offences which come nearest to murder in enormity. Those offences are almost always committed under such circumstances that the offender has it in his power to add murder to his guilt. They are often committed under such circumstances that the offender has a temptation to add murder to his guilt. The same opportunities, the same superiority of force, which enabled a man to rob, to mangle, or to ravish, will enable him to go further, and to despatch his victim. As he has almost always the power to murder, he will often have a strong

motive to murder, inasmuch as by murder he may often hope to remove the only witness of the crime which he has already committed. If the punishment of the crime which he has already committed be exactly the same with the punishment of murder, he will have no restraining motive. A law which imprisons for robbery, and hangs for murder, holds out to robbers a strong inducement to spare the lives of those whom they have injured. A law which hangs for robbery, and which only hangs for murder, holds out, indeed, if it be rigorously carried into effect, a strong motive to deter men from robbery; but as soon as a man has robbed, it holds out to him a strong motive to follow up his crime with a murder.

"If murder were punished with something more than simple death; if the murderer were broken on the wheel or burned alive, there would not be the same objection to punishing with death those crimes which in atrocity approach nearest to murder. But such a system would be open to other objections so obvious that it is unnecessary to point them out. The highest punishment which we propose is the simple privation of life; and the highest punishment, be it what it may, ought not, for the reason which we have given, to be assigned to any crime against the person which stops short of murder. And it is hardly necessary to point out to his Lordship in Council how great a shock would be given to public feeling if, while we propose to exempt from the punishment of death the most atrocious personal outrages which stopped short of murder, we were to inflict that punishment even in the worst cases of theft, cheating or mischief.

"It will be seen that, throughout the code, wherever we have made any offence punishable by transportation, we have provided that the transportation shall be for life.

The consideration which has chiefly determined us to retain that mode of punishment is our persuasion that it is regarded by the natives of India, particularly by those who live at a distance from the sea, with peculiar fear. The pain which is caused by punishment is unmixed evil. It is by the terror which it inspires that it produces good; and perhaps no punishment inspires so much terror in proportion to the actual pain which it causes as the punishment of transportation in this country. Prolonged imprisonment may be more painful in the actual endurance; but it is not so much dreaded beforehand; nor does a sentence of imprisonment strike either the offender or the bystanders with so much horror as a sentence of exile beyond what they call the Black Water. This feeling, we believe, arises chiefly from the mystery which overhangs the fate of the transported convict. The separation resembles that which takes place at the moment of death. The criminal is taken for ever from the society of all who are acquainted with him, and conveyed by means of which the natives have but an indistinct notion over an element which they regard with extreme awe, to a distant country of which they know nothing, and from which he is never to return. It is natural that his fate should impress them with a deep feeling of terror. It is on this feeling that the efficacy of the punishment depends, and this feeling would be greatly weakened if transported convicts should frequently return, after an exile of seven or fourteen years, to the scene of their offences, and to the society of their former friends."

The proper punishment for delinquent Englishmen is banishment:

"As there are strong reasons for not punishing Europeans with imprisonment of the same description with

which we propose to punish natives, so there are reasons equally strong for not suffering Europeans who have been convicted of serious crimes to remain in this country. As we are satisfied that nothing can add more strength to the Government, or can be more beneficial to the people, than the free admission of honest, industrious and intelligent Englishmen, so we are satisfied that no greater calamity could befall either the Government or the people than the influx of Englishmen of lawless habits and blasted character. Such men are of the same race and colour with the rulers of the country, they speak the same language, they wear the same garb. In all these things they differ from the great body of the population. It is natural and inevitable that in the minds of a people accustomed to be governed by Englishmen, the idea of an Englishman should be associated with the idea of Government. Every Englishman participates in the power of Government, though he holds no office. His vices reflect disgrace on the Government, though the Government gives him no countenance."

On the punishment of the pillory:

"Of all punishments this is evidently the most unequal. It may be more severe than any punishment in the code. It may be no punishment at all. If inflicted on a man who has quick sensibility, it is generally more terrible than death itself. If inflicted on a hardened and impudent delinquent, who has often stood at the bar, and who has no character to lose, it is a punishment less serious than an hour of the treadmill. It derives all its terrors from the higher and better parts of the character of the sufferer; its severity is therefore in inverse proportion to the necessity for severity. An offender who, though he has been drawn into crime by temptation, has not yet

wholly given himself up to wickedness and discarded all regard for reputation, is an offender with whom it is generally desirable to deal gently. He may still be reclaimed. He may still become a valuable member of society. On the other hand, the criminal for whom disgrace has no terrors, who dreads nothing but physical suffering, restraint and privation, and who laughs at infamy, is the very criminal against whom the whole rigour of the law ought to be put forth. To employ a punishment which is more bitter than the bitterness of death to the man who has still some remains of virtuous and honourable feeling, and which is mere matter of jest to the utterly abandoned villain, appears to us most unreasonable."

On the question of receiving presents:

"The mere taking of presents by a public functionary, when it cannot be proved that such presents were corruptly taken, we have made penal only in one particular case, to which we shall hereafter call the attention of his Lordship in Council. We have not made the taking of presents by public functionaries generally penal; because, though we think that it is a practice which ought to be carefully watched and often severely punished, we are not satisfied that it is possible to frame any law on the subject which would not be rendered inoperative either by its extreme severity or by its extreme laxity. Absolutely to prohibit all public functionaries from taking presents would be to prohibit a son from contributing to the support of a father, a father from giving a portion with a daughter, a brother from extricating a brother from pecuniary difficulties. No government would wish to prevent persons intimately connected by blood, by marriage, or by friendship, from rendering services to each other; and no tribunals would enforce a law which should make the rendering of such

service a crime. Where no such close connexion exists, the receiving of large presents by a public functionary is generally a very suspicious proceeding; but a lime, a wreath of flowers, a slice of betel nut, a drop of atar of roses poured on his handkerchief, are presents which it would in this country be held churlish to refuse, and which cannot possibly corrupt the most mercenary of mankind. Other presents, of more value than these, may, on account of their peculiar nature, be accepted, without affording any ground for suspicion. Luxuries socially consumed, according to the usages of hospitality, are presents of this description; it would be unreasonable to treat a man in office as a criminal, for drinking many rupees-worth of champagne in a year, at the table of an acquaintance; though if he were to suffer one of his subordinates to accept even a single rupee in specie, he might deserve exemplary punishment."

Here are our old friends A. and Z. again. I have read a story in which the plot turns exactly upon such a case as is here set forth. In the story, which is supposed to be regulated by English law, no legal punishment reaches A.:-

"Suppose it to be proved to the entire conviction of a criminal court that Z., the deceased, was in a very critical state of health; that A., the heir to Z.'s property, had been informed by Z.'s physicians that Z.'s recovery absolutely depended on his being kept quiet in mind, and that the smallest mental excitement would endanger his life; that A. immediately broke into Z.'s sick room, and told him a dreadful piece of intelligence, which was a pure invention; that Z. went into fits, and died on the spot; that A. had afterwards boasted of having cleared the way for himself to a good property by this artifice; these

things being fully proved, no judge could doubt that A. had voluntarily caused the death of Z.; nor do we perceive any reason for not punishing A. in the same manner in which he would have been punished if he had mixed arsenic in Z.'s medicine."

The ruling passion is always strong. There is even here a vein of allusion, drawn from western history.

"Again, suppose that A. makes a deliberate attempt to commit assassination; in the presence of numbers he aims a knife at the heart of Z., but the knife glances aside, and inflicts only a slight wound. This happened in the case of Jean Chatel, of Damien, of Guiscard, and of many other assassins of the most desperate character. In such cases there is no doubt whatever as to the intention."

Respecting a kind of assault. "Such an assault produced the Sicilian vespers; such an assault called forth the memorable blow of Wat Tyler. It is difficult to conceive any class of cases in which the intemperance of anger ought to be treated with greater lenity. So far, indeed, should we be from ranking a man who acted like Tyler with murderers, that we conceive that a judge would exercise a sound discretion in sentencing such a man to the lowest punishment fixed by the law for manslaughter."

"It does not appear to us that, where the murderous intention is made out, the severity of the hurt inflicted is a circumstance which ought to be considered in apportioning the punishment. It is undoubtedly a circumstance which will be important as evidence. A Court will generally be more easily satisfied of the murderous intention of an assailant who has fractured a man's skull, than of one who has only caused a slight contusion. But the proof might be complete. To take examples which

are universally known:—Harley was laid up more than twenty days by the wound which he received from Guiscard; the scratch which Damien gave to Louis the Fifteenth was so slight that it was followed by no feverish symptoms. Yet it will be allowed that it would be absurd to make a distinction between the two assassins on this ground."

"If a critic described a writer as a plagiarist, the courts would not consider this as defamation without very strong proof of bad faith. But if it were proved that the critic had, like Lauder, interpolated passages in old books in order to bear out the charge of plagiarism, the court would doubtless be of opinion that he had not criticised in good faith, and would convict him of defamation."

We ought to add one more quotation. "We have not thought it desirable to take as the groundwork of the code any of the systems of law now in force in any part of India. We have, indeed, to the best of our ability, compared the code with all those systems, and we have taken suggestions from all; but we have not adopted a single provision merely because it formed a part of any of those systems. We have also compared our work with the most celebrated systems of Western jurisprudence, as far as the very scanty means of information which were accessible to us in this country enabled us to do so. We have derived much valuable assistance from the French code, and from the decisions of the French Courts of Justice on questions touching the construction of that code. We have derived assistance still more valuable from the code of Louisiana, prepared by the late Mr. Livingston. We are the more desirous to acknowledge our obligations to that eminent jurist, because we have

found ourselves under the necessity of combating his opinions on some important questions."

Upon the completion of the Penal Code, Mr. Macaulay proceeded to accomplish the design, so ardently cherished by every Indian, of returning home. The papers which criticised his coming, and were talking of his going away, more frequently than of the departure of any other person, were now angry with him because he was leaving. They pronounced that they had found him out; he was a man of "no public virtue." Just when he had amassed a fortune in India, just when he was beginning to rub off his inexperience, and really to be of some little use, he was going to play the part of a deserter. Henceforth he would never be able to hold up his face in Europe. He had ruined his character for life, &c. &c. Mr. Macaulay bore this trial without a syllable of rejoinder. He, in due season, embarked, it must be owned, amid an indifference that contrasted strangely with the enthusiasm that greeted his arrival, and with little public notice beyond a few insulting paragraphs in the papers.

The question of the Black Act was brought before the House of Commons on the 22nd of March, 1838, by Mr. Ward. He presented a petition signed by 200 principal merchants, 200 native merchants, and 1400 British residents. The petitioners undertook to prove that they had never been subject to Mofussil law, except when arranged by formal compact. Mr. Ward moved for a select committee. The President of the Board of Control pointed out that the inhabitants of the cities of Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras, who had raised the agitation, were not affected by the law, which applied only to the interior. This right of appeal, so highly valued, had only been resorted to in

two instances. He quoted a variety of authorities in favour of doing away with all distinctions among the inhabitants of India. He made some severe strictures on the Supreme Courts. Sir Charles Grey, who had presided over one of these Courts, although he attacked Sir John Hobhouse would vote against the motion. In the course of the debate, Mr. Wynn severely condemned the rhetorical amplification in which Mr. Macaulay had indulged while speaking of the Supreme Court. Ultimately Mr. Ward thought it best to consent to withdraw his motion, Sir John Hobhouse engaging to lay on the table the Minutes of Council on which the Act was founded.

The news of the kind of reception accorded to the petition in England, and more especially the publication of Mr. Macaulay's minutes, excited a very strong feeling in the Calcutta communities. One particular individual appears to have reaped the only substantial advantage of the agitation. This was the gentleman to whom was entrusted the care of the petition, and who proceeded to London on the business. He received, at least, two thousand pounds, got into practice at the bar, and received, we believe, a good appointment.

A public meeting, convened by the Sheriff, was held in the Town Hall on the 24th of November, at which it was resolved to petition both Houses of Parliament again for the repeal of the Act XI. of 1836, described in the Requisition to the Sheriff as "commonly called the Black Act." It was further resolved to pray that the petitioners be heard by counsel at the bar of both Houses; to open a subscription to defray the expenses of employing a permanent agent and counsel in England, and of forwarding the petitions, and that Mr. Crawford be requested to

act as agent; lastly, that the said Thomas Babington Macaulay hath, as fourth Ordinary Member of the Council of India and India Law Commissioner, wilfully, maliciously, and in breach of his duty as such councillor, advised the Government of India to make laws contrary to the unwritten law and constitution of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, whereon doth depend, in a high degree, the allegiance of all British subjects to the Crown of the United Kingdom; and we record it to be our deliberate conviction that the said Thomas Babington Macaulay has forfeited all claim to the confidence of his countrymen, has disgraced his country, and has proved himself the enemy of India."

We quote from a paper, *The Friend of India*, a periodical which we have had occasion to mention with respect, and whose candid criticism on Mr. Macaulay is frequently of value, some remarks which doubtless reflect faithfully the opinions of the better and less prejudiced portion of Indian society. As a contemporary document it is of much interest:—

"We regret much that circumstances beyond our control prevented our offering a few remarks last week on the observations of our contemporaries, regarding the treatment of Mr. Macaulay by the Calcutta press. We had at first intended to publish a catalogue of the terms applied to Mr. Macaulay's public conduct as a member of the Supreme Government, but when we had entered upon the task, and found at the very outset the terms charlatan, cheat, swindler, associated with his name, and that he was charged with having taken money upon false pretences, we confess we had no heart for the unpleasant task, and cheerfully dropped it. Our reason for raising our protest against such language was that there appeared

nothing in Mr. Macaulay's official conduct to justify it; and though we have incurred the censure of our brethren by the course we have pursued, we must still affirm that no valid grounds have been advanced for this extraordinary and unwonted bitterness. He was appointed under the provisions of the last Charter the fourth member of Council, and his duties were limited by Act of Parliament to sitting and voting in Council when it sat in its legislative capacity. It is true that the circle of Mr. Macaulay's duties was extremely and ridiculously narrow; but it was the Act that reduced them within so small a circumference. There can be no doubt from the character and attainments of Mr. Macaulay, that he would cheerfully have taken a share in the political deliberations of the Supreme Council; but the Act forbade it. He was not even appointed to frame laws, but simply to vote upon them after they had been drawn up. If Mr. Macaulay neglected the duties attached to his office, if he refused to give his assistance when new laws were under discussion, or even if he impeded generally the course of legislation, he was culpable. If not, upon what ground is this outcry raised against him? It is said that some of the laws which were passed during the period of his incumbency were pernicious. Granting, for the sake of argument, that this is the case, why, in all fairness, why, in all fairness, is he to be singled out from among the five members of Council to bear the brunt of the obloquy which has been attached to them?"

There can be no doubt that the Calcutta press did not err in attributing the lion's share of the legislation to Mr. Macaulay. He was not the man to receive many thousand pounds for work which he would inefficiently perform, not yet the man to abdicate the leading position

to which his talents and his rank entitled him. The uncontradicted popular language of the day, and still more the internal evidence, unquestionably demonstrate the main authorship of such legislation, at least as that from which we have quoted. In regard to the questions at issue between himself and the Calcutta community, it is beyond our province minutely to discuss these points of difference. To give a fair and accurate judgment, it would probably be necessary to arbitrate between the two. Mr. Macaulay appears to have estimated with too great a degree of contempt both the numbers and the arguments of his opponents.

We give some extracts from his minutes. Although now forgotten, probably because they are practicably inaccessible, they excited much attention and admiration at the time. As state papers they are sufficiently unusual, and remarkable on account of their eloquence and vituperative tone. Our readers will remember that they are essentially special pleading. But remembering this, at the same time that we admire their masterly ability we must also feel the substantial justice of his case, and recognise a further proof of the writer's honesty and public spirit.

"Till the passing of Act XI. of 1836, an Englishman at Agra or Benares who owed a small debt to a native, who had beaten a native, who had come with a body of bludgeon-men and ploughed up a native's land, if sued by the injured party for damages, was able to drag that party before the Supreme Court, a court which, in one most important point, the character of the judges, stands as high as any court can stand, but which in every other respect I believe to be the worst in India, the most dilatory, and the most ruinously expensive. Judicial corruption indeed is a most frightful evil, yet it is not the

worst of evils. A court may be corrupt, and yet it may do much good; indeed, there is scarcely any court so corrupt as not to do much more justice than injustice; for there is no reason to believe that the party who is in the right will be less able to fee the judge than the party who is in the wrong, and, *ceteris paribus*, the worst judge will, from selfish motives, decide rightly rather than wrongly. Thus we see that in many countries, and through many ages, society is held together, order is preserved, property is accumulated, though the courts constantly receive bribes, and occasionally pervert judgment.

"A sullied stream is a blessing compared to a total drought: and a court may be worse than corrupt,—it may be inaccessible. The expenses of litigation in England are so heavy, that people sit down quietly under wrongs, and submit to losses, rather than go to law: and yet the English are the richest people in the world. The people of India are poor; and the expense of litigation in the Supreme Court is five times as great as the expenses of litigation at Westminster. An undefended cause, which might be prosecuted successfully in the Court of King's Bench for about 8*l.* sterling, cannot be prosecuted in the Supreme Court under 40*l.* sterling. Where an English barrister receives a guinea, a barrister receives here two gold mohurs, more than three guineas. For making a motion of course an English barrister receives half a guinea; a barrister here receives a gold mohur. Officers of the court are enabled to accumulate in a few years, out of the substance of ruined suitors, fortunes larger than the oldest and most distinguished servant of the Company can expect to carry home after thirty or forty years of eminent services. I speak of Bengal, where the system is now in full operation. At

Madras the Supreme Court has, I believe, fulfilled its mission; it has done its work; it has beggared every rich native within its jurisdiction, and is inactive for want of somebody to ruin. This is not all: great as the evils of the Supreme Court usually are, they are exaggerated by the apprehensions of the natives to a still more frightful magnitude. The terror with which it is regarded by them is notorious. Within the last few months, in consequence of an attempt made by some persons connected with that court to extend its jurisdiction over the suburbs of Calcutta, hundreds of respectable and wealthy natives petitioned the Government in language indicating the greatest dismay. To give to every English defendant in every civil cause a right to bring the native plaintiff before the Supreme Court, is to give to every dishonest Englishman an immunity against almost all civil prosecution. It is true that such appeals are scarcely ever heard of. There have, as yet, been only two actually brought to a hearing. But it is the opinion of some of the most experienced servants of the Company that the threat of appealing has been often employed, and employed with success, by dishonest debtors against honest claimants. And I am quite certain, from what I have myself seen of the dread with which natives regard the Supreme Court, and from what I myself know of the expenses of that court, that the threat would in a great proportion of cases be successful.

"I conceive, therefore, that the act is good in itself, and that the time for passing it has been well chosen. The strongest reason, however, as I formerly said, for passing it was the nature of the opposition which it experienced. Approved by the Government of Madras, Bombay, and Agra, approved by the body of the civil

service, not disapproved by those English settlers to whom alone its provisions applied, it has been violently assailed by a portion of the English inhabitants of Calcutta. In this petition they have not taken quite so reprehensible a tone as in their memorials addressed to the Indian Government; but the same spirit of caste, the same love of oligarchical domination, disguising itself under the phraseology which in England we are accustomed to hear only from the most zealous supporters of popular rights, may be seen in both. While the excitement, which has now completely subsided, was in its full force, the organs of the opposition repeated every day that the English were the conquerors, the lords of the country, the dominant race, the electors of the House of Commons, whose legislative power extends both over the company at home and over the Governor-General in council here. The constituents of the British legislature, they told us, were not to be bound by laws made by any inferior authority. The firmness with which the Government withstood the idle outcry of two or three hundred people about a matter with which they had nothing to do, was designated as insolent defiance of public opinion. We were enemies of freedom because we would not suffer a small white aristocracy to domineer over millions.

"How utterly at variance these principles are with reason, with justice, with the honour of the British Government, and with the dearest interests of the Indian people, it is unnecessary for me to point out, either to my colleagues or to the Honourable Court. For myself, I can only say, that if the government is to be conducted on such principles, I am utterly disqualified, by all my feelings and opinions, from bearing any part in it, and

cannot too soon resign my place to some person better fitted to hold it.

"The petitioners say that the East India Company has always been opposed to the free trade and settlement of the English in India, and they therefore conceive it to be a great hardship that they should be placed under the Company's courts.

"This is an ingenious attempt to confound two things which are in themselves widely different, and which the English Parliament and nation are likely to regard with very different feelings. The jealousy of interlopers, which the Company felt while the Company was still a commercial body, was natural, and not inexcusable; but it was a feeling not likely in any age to meet with much sympathy from the public: and the spirit of our age is so strongly, and, as I think, justly, opposed to restrictions on trade, that an interloper thwarted and depressed by a powerful monopolist is sure to have the general voice on his side.

"But is it just or reasonable to advert to a state of things which has wholly passed away, for the purpose of raising a cry against the Indian Government? The Company is no longer the competitor of the private merchant; it has ceased to be a commercial body; it is now merely a ruling body, and as such it has no interest to exclude from its dominions any class of people who are likely to make those dominions more flourishing by carrying thither the arts and industry of Europe.

"As to the apprehension which the petitioners express, that the effect of this enactment may be to deter Europeans from settling in India, I cannot do better than to quote the language of a most valuable servant of the Company, the late lamented Mr. Mill. That gentleman

was asked by the Committee of the House of Commons which sat on Indian affairs in 1832, whether he did not conceive that the total abolition of the King's courts would prevent Europeans from settling in the interior? His answer was—'By no means. I think the same motives which carry them into the interior now, as far as their objects are honest and justifiable, would carry them still: and if they go there for the gain of misconduct and oppression, it is very much to be desired that they should not go at all.'

"It is impossible that any rational person can be so prejudiced against the Company and its servants as really to believe that, having given up all connection with trade, they are still jealous of all other traders.

"But there is a jealousy widely different from the old commercial jealousy of which the Company is invidiously and unfoundedly accused by the petitioners,—a jealousy which it is their duty, and that of all who are in authority under them, to entertain. That jealousy is not the jealousy of a merchant afraid of being undersold, but the jealousy of a ruler afraid that the subjects, for whose well-being he is answerable, should be pillaged and oppressed. India has been subjugated by English arms, and is governed by English functionaries. To be an Englishman is, therefore, a rank in India. Nor is this all. Those qualities which enabled us to conquer, and which now enable us to govern the country, that valour, that resolution, that intelligence, that closeness of union, that marked superiority, both in mental and physical energy, which reared our empire, and which have upheld it, make every individual Englishman a formidable object to the native population. Under these circumstances, there is reason to fear that a tyranny of the worst sort—

the tyranny of race over race—may be the effect of the free admission of British settlers into our provinces. This apprehension the British Parliament evidently entertained when it passed the Charter Act; and if any person is inclined to think it an unfounded apprehension, I would refer him to the writings and speeches to which this very act has given occasion. In those speeches and writings it will not be difficult for him to detect, under the disguise of expressions which in England are generally employed by demagogues, the spirit of an oligarchy as proud and exclusive as that of Venice itself.

"Against that spirit it is the first duty of the Government to make a firm stand. I, at least, will make no concession to it; and I most earnestly hope that the unflinching and uncompromising resistance which I have, in common with my colleagues, felt it my duty to offer to demands made in that spirit, will be approved by the Honourable Court. I hope so, not principally on my own account, though their approbation must always be most gratifying to me, but because I am convinced that on the course which they may take the dearest interests of this empire depend.

"In all ages and countries, a great town which is the seat of government is likely to exercise an influence on public measures disproportioned to its real importance. This is no evil if the interests, the opinions, and the feelings of the population of such a town coincide with those of the population of the empire; but in India, unfortunately, while the influence of the society of the capital on the government is greater than in almost any other country, the interests, feelings, and opinions of that society are often diametrically opposed to those of the mass of the people. Calcutta is an English colony in the midst of an

oriental population. Here we are surrounded by men of the same race and colour with ourselves—by men who speak and write our language—by men who constantly correspond with the country to which we all hope to return. That the favourable and unfavourable opinions of such men should affect us more than the opinion of crowds of foreigners, of heathens, of blacks; that the execrations of whole provinces in the Mofussil should wound our feelings less than a scurrilous article in a Calcutta newspaper; that the benedictions of whole provinces should gratify us less than a complimentary address from fifty or sixty of our own countrymen, is, I fear, but too natural. To overcome these feelings—to take greater interest in the many who are separated from us by strong lines of distinction, than in a few to whom we are bound by close ties; to brave the clamorous censure of those who surround us, for the purpose of serving those whose praises we shall never hear, is no more than our duty; but it is a duty in the performance of which we have, I think, a peculiar claim on the home authorities for support and encouragement. We have now, in defiance of misrepresentation, abuse, and calumny, passed a law, which is considered by ourselves, by the late Governor-General, by the Governor in Council of Madras, by the Governor in Council of Bombay, by all, or almost all, the civil servants of the Company, as a law beneficial to the great body of the people. The English settlers in the Mofussil, the English at the towns of Madras and Bombay, are, to all appearance, contented with it; the English population of Calcutta alone, led on by a class of men who live by the worst abuses of the worst Court in the world, have raised an outcry against us. If that outcry be successful, the prospects of this country will be dark indeed; but I

know the Honourable Court and the British Legislature too well to think that it can be successful; and I confidently expect that we shall receive on this occasion such support as may encourage us, and those who shall succeed us, when legislating for the general good of India, to disregard the clamour of Calcutta.

"(Signed) T. B. MACAULAY."

CHAPTER VIII.

DEATH OF ZACHARY MACAULAY.

WHILE the vessel was sailing the seas that should bring back Mr. Macaulay from the East to the stir and activity of our western life, a great loss was to befall him. During the time of his passage back his father died. It is greatly to be regretted that no formal biography of his life has been attempted; a biography which, in some points of view, would be even more valuable than any that could be written of his son. He was a man who had been exposed to most violent obloquy, and that obloquy urged with a precision of detail which at the first blush conveys an impression of verisimilitude. For this unfavourable view, and criticisms on the Sierra Leone firm of Babington and Macaulay, we might refer our readers to some papers by Mr. MacQueen in some early volumes of *Blackwood's Magazine*. The character of English public men is precious, and it is to be regretted that a distinct issue was not raised and tried. Nevertheless, there remains an amount of testimony to the character and virtues of Zachary Macaulay that amply vindicates his fair fame, and places his name high on the list of the benefactors of the human family. The evidence of Mr. Henry Drummond on one question is as important as it is unimpeachable. "He," (Zachary Macaulay), writes Henry Drummond, "has been more slandered than any individual of my

acquaintance, with less adventitious power of resisting calumny than even Mr. Wilberforce; and, therefore, I ever felt it especially incumbent upon me to stand by him, and throw in my lot with his. Macaulay is a staunch friend, and one of the *very very* few men I have met with in this false world on whom I felt I could depend, if ever I should have been thrown into circumstances to require more than the name. Such a loss is not to be replaced." So far from Mr. Macaulay having been actuated by the personal motives so lavishly imputed to him by the West Indian party, his conduct ever appears to have been in the highest degree disinterested. When at a public and influential meeting at Freemason's Hall in 1812, already mentioned, it was resolved to present to Mr. Macaulay a piece of plate of the value of one hundred guineas—Mr. Macaulay, while accepting it, deposited the value in the Society's treasury, that the institution might be no loser. On another occasion, when a large share of a slave prize was legally due to him, he relinquished it all to the revenue officers that he might quicken their diligence. He resigned a lucrative agency, that fell to him in his business as a merchant, that he might not indirectly encourage slavery. Nor were his labours confined to the anti-slavery cause alone. He took an active share in all those schemes of benevolence which distinguished the times in which he lived; and his contributions in relief of individual distress were made with a liberality that exceeded expectation. His practical ability was very great, which he showed as a Fellow of the Royal Society, as a promoter of education, as a Commissioner of Charities, and as one of the founders of the University of London. Singularly deficient in vivacity, and in the power of producing the kind of literature which people care to read—

as an expositor of details, and as a close reasoner, his ability was very great. His power of getting through business, and the amount of business he transacted, was wonderful. To people less busy, less deeply impressed with the importance of time, and less occupied by weighty matters, his taciturn calmness often operated as a rebuke, and was offensive. One young man, whose volubility was checked by gruff monosyllables, was surprised by receiving a note which displayed much instinctive delicacy of feeling: "My dear Sir,—When you did me the favour to call, I was so much pressed for time, and so much oppressed with business, that I fear I may have looked or spoken repulsively. If so, forgive it: I did not mean it." *

Other testimonies might be quoted to the worth of Mr. Macaulay. In the House of Commons Mr. Gladstone once said: "I can only speak from tradition of the struggle for the abolition of slavery; but if I have not been misinformed, there was engaged in it a man who was an unseen ally of Mr. Wilberforce, and the pillar of his strength—a man of profound benevolence, of acute understanding, of indefatigable industry; and of that self-denying temper which is content to work in secret, to forego the recompence of present fame, and to seek its reward beyond the grave." But the notice of Mr. Zachary Macaulay that surpasses all others in interest is to be found in Sir James Stephen's articles on the Clapham Sect in the *Edinburgh Review*, afterwards reprinted, with additions, in the volume of Collected Essays. He speaks of the faith approaching to superstition, and the love rising to enthusiasm, which existed towards a man whose demeanour was so inanimate, if not

* Memoir of Z. Macaulay, Esq., in *Christian Observer*, 1839.

austere. "His name will be ever dear to those who hate injustice. It will be especially dear to the few who closely observed, and who can yet remember, how that self-devotion became the poetical element of a mind not naturally imaginative; what deep significance it imparted to an aspect and a demeanour not otherwise impressive; what energy to a temper which, if not so excited, might perhaps have been phlegmatic; what unity of design to a mind constitutionally discursive; and what dignity even to physical languor and suffering contracted in such a service. They can never forget that the most implacable enemy of the tyrants of the plantation and of the slave-ship, was the most indulgent and generous and constant of friends; that he spurned, as men should spurn, the mere pageantry of life, that he might use, as men should use, the means which life affords of advancing the happiness of mankind; that his earthward affections, active and all-enduring as they were, could yet thrive without the support of human sympathy, because they were sustained by so abiding a sense of the Divine presence, and so absolute a submission to the Divine will, as raised him habitually to that higher region where the reproach of man could not reach, and the praise of man might not presume to follow him." Zachary Macaulay died at his house in Clarges Street on the 16th of May, 1838, in the seventy-first year of his age. There is a monument to his memory in Westminster Abbey.

His illustrious son arrived in England next month, in the ship *Lord Hungerford*. This was shortly before the coronation of the youthful Queen. He afterwards went abroad and travelled in Italy. He there derived the accurate knowledge of localities which he turned to such excellent account in the descriptive part of the *Lays of*

Ancient Rome. Lord Macaulay always carefully studied the scenery and locality of historical events, and well knew their value in conveying vivid and accurate impressions. In the course of the composition of his history he visited various places, sometimes taking up an unobserved residence for weeks together while pursuing his careful observations.

The elevation of Mr. Abercrombie to the peerage had created a vacancy in the representation of Edinburgh. The following letter of his to Mr. Black tells the story of the commencement of his connection with Edinburgh:*

"*London, May 16th*, 1839.

"DEAR SIR,— I have seldom been more gratified than by your letter, and, whatever may be the result of our correspondence, I shall always reflect with pleasure on such proofs of esteem and good-will from such a quarter. Unconnected as I am with Edinburgh, I should never have thought of offering myself as a candidate; and, when my friend Napier first mentioned to me your suggestion, though I was pleased with it as a compliment, I considered it as nothing else. If, however, I could be seated in the House of Commons, as a representative of your noble city, I should be in the very situation which, of all situations, would be most agreeable to my feelings. I should be able to take part in politics, as an independent member of Parliament, with the weight and authority which belongs to a man who speaks in the name of a great and intelligent body of constituents. I should, during half the year, be at leisure for other pursuits, to which I

* This letter is given in Mr. Black's edition of Lord Macaulay's Biographies. I am obliged to Mr. Black for permission to make an extract or two from his interesting Preface.

am more inclined, and for which, perhaps, I am better fitted; and I should be able to complete an extensive literary work which I have long meditated. If I were Member for Edinburgh, I should, I assure you, be quite as unwilling to be in place, as my constituents could be to see me there. I have already, since my return from India, declined one lucrative and honourable office, that of Judge Advocate; and I think I may safely venture to promise that I never will hold any office, however high, except under circumstances under which it would be wrong and dishonourable to decline it. I dislike the restraints of official life; I love freedom, leisure, and letters. Salary is no object to me, for my income, though small, is sufficient for a man who has no ostentatious tastes. And I have no doubt that, at the present moment, my public duty and private inclination coincide, and that I should be of more use to the Government out of place than in it.

"I shall be glad to hear what course things take. The Speaker, I believe, has, after some hesitation, made up his mind to go to the House of Lords. Mr. Fox Maule and the Marquis of Lansdowne have just assured me of this. If so, the new writ for Edinburgh will probably be ordered on Friday week, the 24th. On one point it is fit that I should explain myself with the utmost clearness—I mean the pecuniary parts of the business. I cannot spend more than 500*l.* on the election. When I name this sum I go to the very farthest limit—perhaps beyond what is proper. If, therefore, there be any probability that the candidate will be required to pay more than this, I hope that you will, without delay, look round for another person.

"Believe me, &c.,

"T. B. Macaulay."

At this period *The Times* began to honour him with a steady course of abuse. We reprint one of their articles as an illustration of the history of the time, and as a specimen of political literature. The injustice of the offensive imputations will be at once recognised in the attacks on his career and the charge of Whig jobbery. The writer either knew or could easily have known the truth; but in times of political excitement, political morality is at a low ebb.

"The mission of Mr. Thomas Babington Macaulay to India was, morally considered, there is reason for believing, a nefarious job: financially considered, a most prodigal and unprofitable waste of the public money. Mr. Thomas Babington Macaulay, poor in fortune—which was very far from being a reproach to him, unblemished in reputation—which was much to his honour, and rich in acquirements of a showy and splashy description—amongst them, is that of an immense and inexhaustible vocabulary, adapted to all the demands of Parliamentary declamation—this gentleman was sent to India by the 'Reform' Government, for the ostensible, though somewhat vague, purpose of legislation, codification, juridical revolution, without control or limit—that is, for effecting all manner of changes in the relations of all ranks and all races of men throughout our vast Indian Empire, towards each other, according to his own supreme will; to the dictates of a genius alternately rioting in abstraction, and enslaved by crotchety prepossessions upon difficult subjects of civil policy, of which, in the nature of things, he must be practically and profoundly ignorant. The only definite and simple characteristic of the mission provided for this party speech maker was, that he was secured in the enjoyment of 10,000*l.* per annum—the absence of the hon. and learned gentleman in India having continued for about

three years. He has, therefore, absorbed a sum of money equal at least to 30,000*l.* sterling from the public purse. There is, at the same time, little difference of opinion, by what we can learn, as to the sort of return which he has made for it, in his capacity of a Hindoo lawgiver.

"The learned gentleman has so contrived it, that by virtue of the exercise of his power as a Whig-Radical codifier, he has thrown the whole European community of British India into a blaze of exasperation and confusion—leaving the scene of his reckless experiment and his unblushing emolument with the renown of being, as a member of society, more disliked, and as a public functionary more execrated, than any Englishman that ever left the shores of the Thames to visit those of the Ganges. We have now before us the proceedings of a public meeting, held at Calcutta on the 24th of last November, wherein the achievements of Mr. Babington Macaulay appear to have been discussed and analysed pretty much in detail, and where resolutions were passed expressive of the general sense entertained of Mr. Macaulay's title to the enormous wealth and power bestowed upon him as the regenerator of the peninsula of Hindostan. We may take another opportunity of exhibiting more minutely the sentiments of the British inhabitants of Calcutta towards this personage, and of publishing to the electors of Edinburgh the political prospects which they may expect to realise, by choosing him for their representative in the Imperial House of Commons.

"Mr. Babington Macaulay has become the ministerial candidate for the Metropolis of Scotland, vice the late Speaker. It is to be hoped that on the election banners of this voluble Whig the following words may be inscribed, from one of his own minutes upon the rights of

our countrymen in the East, viz.:—'We know that India cannot have a free government, but she may have the next best thing—a firm and impartial despotism.' So much for the constitutional spirit of a thorough Downing-street Whig. So much for the popular candidate of Auld Reekie."

We give the eloquent words of the conclusion of one of his addresses to the electors of Edinburgh. It is impossible not to admire their sincerity and impassioned earnestness. They make us the more regret that he gave up to Party so much that was intended for mankind. Mr. Macaulay was at times very severe on what he used to call the *Boswelliana lues*, but unhappily his own public life was a huge political Boswellism.

"I look with pride on all that the Whigs have done for the cause of human freedom, and of human happiness. I see them now hard pressed, struggling with difficulties, but still fighting the good fight. At their head I see men who have inherited the spirit and the virtues, as well as the blood, of old champions and martyrs of freedom. To these men I propose to attach myself. Delusion may triumph, but the triumphs of delusion are but for a day. We may be defeated; but our principles will only gather fresh strength from defeats. Be that, however, as it may, my part is taken. While one shred of the old banner is flying, by that banner will I at least be found. The good old cause, as Sidney called it on the scaffold, vanquished or victorious, insulted or triumphant—the good old cause is still the good old cause with me. Whether in or out of Parliament—whether speaking with that authority which must always belong to the representative of this great and enlightened community, or expressing the humble senti-

ments of a private citizen, I will to the last maintain inviolate my fidelity to principles which though they may be borne down for a time by senseless clamour, are yet strong with the strength and immortal with the immortality of truth, and which, however they may be misunderstood or misrepresented by contemporaries, will assuredly find justice from a better age. . . ."

On this point we may refer to the aspect of political parties at the date when Mr. Macaulay re-entered the House of Commons. The Whig party which he had left so numerous, powerful, and united, had fallen into weakness and popular contempt by their own dissensions, and the growing political weight of their opponents. Their first fall had taken place at the conclusion of the session, at the commencement of which Mr. Macaulay had departed for India. When the elevation of Lord Althorp to the Upper House had rendered some changes in the administration necessary, the King took advantage of the circumstances to dismiss the ministry. Then occurred that famous posture of affairs when the Duke of Wellington assumed the management of every department in the State, while the travelling carriage was rolling onward from Rome that contained the future Premier. Unfortunately the great men who had seceded from the last ministry—Lord Stanley and Sir James Graham —were unwilling to join Sir Robert, lest their conduct should be exposed to misconstruction. Early next year, therefore, the Melbourne Ministry was re-instated with the important omission of Lord Brougham, whom one great political mistake deprived of his influence in the country; and others have ever since debarred him from the public service. It was understood that the King had expressly stipulated that Lord Brougham should not

again be Chancellor. Lord Melbourne with his *poco-curanteism*, contrasted but poorly with the stately abilities and moral dignity of Sir Robert Peel. Sydney Smith has sketched his character with all the wisdom that characterised his wit:—"Carelessness is but a poor imitation of genius. . . . Everything about him seems to betoken careless desolation; every one would suppose from his manner that he was playing at chuck-farthing with human happiness; that he would giggle away the Great Charter, and decide by the method of tee-totum whether my lords the bishops should retain their seats in the House of Lords. . . . He is nothing more than a man of good understanding and good principles, disguised in the eternal and somewhat wearisome affectation of a political roué." For some sessions of his ministry, its history is of its own powerlessness, and the obstructiveness of the Opposition. It was forced into desperate straits, and was unable to carry the measures on which it staked its political existence. There was great truth in the Tory assertion, that the country was virtually without a government. Then came the death of the sailor king, from the last of his annual attacks of hay fever; and a young girl of simple manners, blameless life, and gracious heart, came to the throne, and was greeted by a loyalty that at once rose into a passionate enthusiasm, which burns now even as at the moment of her accession. Yet the popularity was imperilled by the early events of the reign. The Whigs endeavoured to make political capital of the royal name. As might naturally be expected from the inexperience and amiability of the Queen, she was at once disposed to meet with the utmost kindliness and regard the nobleman whom she found in the position of her First Minister.

The ungenerous return made to their trusting sovereign, was the design to make her the creature of a coterie. They surrounded her with their wives, sisters, and daughters; they made unwarrantable use of her name on the public hustings for their own party purposes; they succeeded in placing her in an unconstitutional position, that might prove both painful and embarrassing. When the Whigs were forced to resign on the Jamaica question, the Bedchamber Plot succeeded in re-instating them for a time. Sir Robert Peel discovered, by an almost accidental reference to the Red Book, that his opponents had succeeded in completely surrounding the Queen with ladies of the household attached to their own interests. He proposed that those ladies who filled the highest situations should resign. Her Majesty erroneously conceived that Sir Robert intended to change *all* the ladies of her household, and dispatched the famous note in which she states, that she "cannot consent to adopt a course which she conceives to be contrary to usage, and which is repugnant to her feelings." Sir Robert accordingly declined to proceed with the construction of his cabinet, and Lord Melbourne returned to power. The prosecution of the unhappy Lady Flora Hastings that afterwards ensued, followed by her death, and the heartless letters written by Lord Melbourne to her mother, increased the unpopularity of the Court. The Whigs were also forced to confess that the position which the Queen had taken by their advice was, in reality, untenable. The Whig Administration might be best described as now subsisting on sufferance. Their supposed unity of sentiment with the Crown at first conciliated for them a portion of popular favour, which soon ebbed again.

Mr. Macaulay had not been in the House more than

two or three weeks, when Mr. Guste's motions on the ballot gave him occasion to speak, although it had been his intention to have continued for a longer time a silent spectator of the proceedings of Parliament. His re-appearance excited the greatest interest. Members crowded into the side galleries to hear his speech, which exhibited all his characteristic ability. In regard to the question itself, his persistent advocacy of the ballot may be regarded as one of his political errors. The common sense of Englishmen has decisively settled the question of secret voting. This was the only speech he made this session. But he constantly gave the Ministers the advantage of his vote, and his vote at that conjuncture of affairs was of the highest importance. Ministers in a pitched battle were reduced to so low a majority as two.

After the Parliament broke up, there were certain changes in the Ministry. Mr. Macaulay was spoken of for one of the appointments *not of the Cabinet*, but it was stated in the papers that he had resolved to accept nothing short of a seat in the Cabinet, and it is unlikely that anything else was ever offered to him. He was accordingly appointed Secretary at War, and sworn of the Privy Council. At the same time a similar distinction was conferred upon Mr. Sheil, who had also accepted office; and being a Roman Catholic, the *Times* regarded the appointment with feelings of pious horror. The *Times* spitefully recalled Mr. Macaulay's former connection with Mr. Sheil's case :—

"So much for Mr. Sheil himself, whose promotion to the rank of Privy Councillor is rendered still more remarkable from the fact, that it occurs at the same time that Mr. Babble-tongue Macaulay receives the like distinction. Mr. Babble-tongue Macaulay was to have

been the chief witness in the case of 'Who's the traitor?'—a question which it is generally believed he might have answered as easily as Mr. Sheil himself. But the right honourable Babble-tongue stood mute; and it so happened that it was not 'all Dickey' with the right honourable Richard Sheil. These men privy councillors! These men petted at Windsor Castle! Faugh! Why they are hardly fit to fill up the vacancies that have occurred by the lamented death of her Majesty's two favourite monkeys."

At the time of his elevation, Mr. Macaulay went down to Windsor and kissed hands. On this occasion he was her Majesty's guest at Windsor Castle for several days. The *John Bull* states that her Majesty was considerably astonished upon being informed that the individual before her was the celebrated Mr. Macaulay. Mr. Macaulay, says the *Times*, now obtained the familiar appellation of *the right hon.* On this occasion he had the indiscretion to date his address from WINDSOR CASTLE: Mr. Macaulay's little place in Berkshire, as some one humorously calls it. It is very well to say that Mr. Macaulay being at Windsor Castle had a right to date from Windsor Castle, but one instinctively feels it was a mistake. Of course the *Times* did not omit to comment on this.

"But if the ground of Mr. Sheil's appointments be still a mystery, there can no longer be any doubt of the qualification which recommended Mr. Babble-tongue Macaulay to the favour of the Ministers. No; his letter to the electors of Edinburgh has set that point at rest. His cast-iron impudence has caused his promotion. 'Set a beggar on horseback' and our readers know how he will ride. Mr. Babble-tongue Macaulay's epistle furnishes a

striking illustration of the truth of that proverbial saying. It seems that his uncouth, uncomfortable presence has been obtruded on her Majesty at Windsor, and the creature has actually had the impudence to date his letter to the *canaille* of the Edinburgh electors from 'Windsor Castle!' We would fain persuade ourselves that the Scotch papers have been hoaxing us, and that Mr. Babble-tongue Macaulay addressed his letter, not from the Castle, but from the Castle Tavern, Windsor—ay, and from the most proper part thereof for the purpose, namely, the Tap. But no; he has somehow or other been pitchforked into the Palace; and though, in all probability, he has been admitted as a guest there only for the sake of being made fun of by Lord Melbourne and the ladies, still the 'distinguished honour' has given his brains another turn. This is evident from the insufferably conceited strain of his epistle to the scum of the Edinburgh electors." The following is the letter referred to:—

"*Windsor Castle, October* 1, 1839.

"GENTLEMEN,—It is already known to you that her Majesty has been graciously pleased to appoint me her Secretary at War, and to add me to the number of those confidential members of her council who are in a peculiar manner accountable for the conduct of public affairs. I need scarcely say that office has at this moment few of its ordinary attractions, and that, in the present circumstances of the country, and in the present state of parties, there is much to discourage those who are entrusted with the administration. I should, in all probability, have best consulted my own comfort by leaving to others the arduous task of acting and proposing, and by confining myself to the far easier business of censuring and object-

ing; but such selfish caution would ill become one whom the generous confidence of your great and enlightened city has placed in a high public trust. Believing as I do that her Majesty's present advisers have meant and endeavoured well; attributing as I do that weakness with which they are taunted neither to infirmity of judgment nor to infirmity of purpose, but to adverse circumstances, to popular delusions, to the arts of unscrupulous enemies, and to the slackness of faint-hearted or unreasonable friends, I have thought it my duty to obey without hesitation the summons which called me to the post of difficulty, of responsibility, of honour. At that post I am confident it must be your wish that your representative should be found. The change which has taken place in my situation has produced no change in my opinions and feelings. I have not to retract or explain away a single word that you have heard me utter. I have accepted office because I am of opinion that, in office, I can most effectually promote the success of those principles which recommended me to your favour. I shall quit office with far more pleasure than I accepted it, as soon as I am convinced that by quitting it, I should serve the cause of temperate liberty and progressive reform. My seat in the House of Commons is now vacant, but the new writ cannot issue till after the meeting of Parliament. During the interval, you will, I trust, permit me, on every occasion in which I can serve you, to consider myself as still your representative. On the day of election I shall present myself before you, without any apprehensions as to the event. You, I am confident, will not think that the situation which I now fill, as one of the servants of a constitutional throne, disqualifies me for the service of a free people.

"T. B. MACAULAY."

The session of 1840 now commenced, in which the Whig ministry had to fight hard for an existence which often trembled in the balance. The opening paragraphs of the speech from the throne gave the formal announcement of the approaching royal marriage. It was remarked on this occasion that the Queen's voice, though clear, was not always audible, and she scarcely spoke with her customary decision. Soon after the Speaker had taken the chair, Mr. E. J. Stanley moved for a new writ for the city of Edinburgh, in the room of the Right Honourable T. B. Macaulay, who had accepted the office of Her Majesty's Secretary of War. The motion, however, was not allowed to pass over in due course. A member of comparatively new standing, a member chiefly celebrated for an egregious failure, but who was already beginning to efface its impressions by proofs of ability, a member to whose merits his own political friends would not then accord a recognition, arose to offer some remarks. That member was Mr. Disraeli. He said there had been virtually a reconstruction of the Cabinet. The Cabinet had been described as a new Cabinet. It was the paramount duty of the House of Commons to ascertain who were the responsible advisers of the Crown. He wanted to know that. Would ministers hold up their hands? With anxiety he hoped to be favoured with an answer. The anxiety was fruitless, for the favour was not bestowed. Ministers did not vouchsafe the slightest notice to the uninfluential individual who made the query. The writ was issued, and Mr. Macaulay was re-elected without the slightest opposition.

One of the first matters that occupied Parliament was the making of a suitable provision for Prince Albert. The ministers proposed fifty thousand a year. Mr. Hume,

amid the laughter of the House, said he did not see the use of setting a young man down in the streets of London with such a lot of money in his pockets. Colonel Sibthorpe proposed, as an amendment, the sum of thirty thousand pounds. Sir Robert Peel and his party supported the amendment, and to the huge delight and astonishment of the worthy Colonel, he succeeded in his object. Lord John Russell ungracefully asserted that the vote was actuated by a desire to avenge the events of the time of the Bedchamber Plot. In this case Prince Albert would indeed suffer severely for his royal consort's partialities to Lord Melbourne and his friends, in an enormous fine of a sum approximating to half a million. But Sir Robert Peel distinctly denied the imputation, and administered a sharp rebuke to Lord John on account of the language which he had employed. In truth, the state of the country was so gloomy, and the exchequer in so unpromising a state, that the larger grant could scarcely be pressed with a good grace. That auspicious marriage followed in due course, from which her Majesty derived so much happiness, and the nation so much good. That the palace was never again the scene of intrigues like the Melbourne intrigues, is due in great measure to the knowledge, sense, and fairness, of the lamented Prince Consort.

Sir John Yarde Buller's dreaded motion came on for debate on the 28th of January,—"That Her Majesty's Government, as at present constituted, does not possess the confidence of this House." In the course of the debate, Mr. Macaulay's speech at Edinburgh, in which he had advocated the ballot, extension of the suffrage, and quadrennial parliaments, was severely criticised. It was especially urged that Lord John Russell, the previous

session, had voted against the introduction of the vote by ballot, and had then regretted that the honourable member for Edinburgh should not have more maturely considered his opinions on this subject. And now the two, holding such diverse opinions, were members of the same Cabinet. The motion was seconded by Alderman Thompson. Sir George Grey offered a direct negative in a speech of remarkable eloquence, which produced a great impression and added much to his reputation. Mr. Disraeli, in a way that did not particularly impress either the House or the country, argued for the necessity of a strong government. On the second night of the debate, Sir James Graham renewed the attack on Mr. Macaulay in a speech that told with remarkable effect, especially the part which related to the contradictory opinions of ministers. Mr. Macaulay then rose. He said that it would be easy for him to reply, and still easier to recriminate. If ever he was under the necessity of addressing the House on matters which concerned himself, he hoped it would not be on an occasion when the dearest interests of the empire were staked on the event of the debate. He then proceeded to express his intense conviction, that in pleading for the Government he was pleading for the dearest interests of the commonwealth, for the reformation of abuses, and for the preservation of august and venerable institutions. This was thought rather an odd declaration from a member of a Whig-Radical Cabinet which had certainly never been regarded as very friendly to our "venerable institutions." The House was greatly excited that evening. The country party are always noted for the power and healthiness of their lungs, and they exerted them that night with stentorian effect. The counter and ironical cheers and the

"oh oh"'s were incessant. "I trust, Mr. Speaker," said the orator, "that the First Cabinet Minister who, when the question is whether the Government be or be not worthy of confidence, offers himself in debate, will find some portion of that generosity and good feeling which once distinguished English gentlemen. But be this as it may, my voice shall be heard." He then proceeded to point out that the ballot might be an open question, just as the cabinets of Mr. Pitt, Mr. Fox, Lord Liverpool, and Mr. Canning had had their open questions. He succeeded in commanding the attention of the turbulent House, and, as usual, sat down amid a diapason of cheers. The conclusion of his speech was a splendid eulogium, pronounced with all the warmth of friendship, upon Lord John, and, by implication, on himself. "At his side will not be wanting men who, through all the turns of fortune, will defend to the last with unabated spirit the noble principles of Milton and Locke." One would almost suppose that the ardent patriots were in danger of being dragged to the scaffold, and the principles of Milton and Locke—of which the Whigs by no means possessed the monopoly—were in danger of becoming extinct. The absence of Mr. Macaulay in India had prevented his noticing minutely and accurately the gradual declension of his friends in public virtues and public opinion. He then hurled an impetuous attack against the Opposition:—"A change has of late come over the spirit of a part—I hope not the most considerable part—of the Tory party. It was once the boast of that party, that through all changes of fortune they cherished feelings of loyalty which rendered their very errors respected, and gave to servitude something of the dignity and worthiness of freedom. A great Tory poet,

who in his lifetime was largely requited for his loyalty, said—

> 'Our loyalty is still the same,
> Whether it win or lose the game;
> True as the dial to the sun,
> Although it be not shone upon.'

We see now a very different race of Tories. We have lived to see a new party raise its head—a monster of a party, made up of the worst points of the Cavalier and the worst points of the Roundhead. We have lived to see a race of disloyal Tories. We have lived to see Toryism giving itself the airs of those insolent pipemen who puffed out smoke in the face of Charles I. We have lived to see Toryism, which, because it is not suffered to grind the people after the fashion of Strafford, turns round and abuses the sovereign after the fashion of—— " The remainder of the sentence was lost in the cheers of the House. The *Times* supplied the ellipse, "Hugh Peters."

Nevertheless, the *Times* said the speech was less adapted to the House than to one of the quarterly periodicals. According to them, he was "an inflated organ of hollow sounds"—whatever that may happen to mean. Their criticism on the speech, however, is confirmed in other quarters. Lord Powerscourt, who opened the debate next night, would not call it "a speech, but an elaborate essay." Lord Powerscourt said, that instead of alluding in the most distant manner to the real charges against the ministers, he had been flying off and talking about some nondescript animal, half a Roundhead, half a Cavalier, about the times of Milton and Hampden, and fifty other things, which had no more to do with the matter then in hand than if he had talked of the sudden

death of King Rufus out hunting, and had pronounced a long panegyric on the merits of Alfred. Lord Stanley, amid the cheers and laughter of the House, said that he had waited till a late hour in the anxious expectation that some other than the "First Cabinet Minister" who addressed the House would at least have attempted to reply. The hon. member had said that it would be easy to reply and easier to recriminate; but though he had recriminated, he had not replied. He would not comment on "that laborious essay—that historical review of the last half century, with the exception of the last five years, the events of which were really the subject of discussion." Sir Robert Peel never made a happier reply, or handled classical quotation more happily, than on this occasion :—

"The right hon. gentlemen proclaims the sacred duty of agitation. He says that no great measure can be carried without agitation. Are these mere clap-traps to deceive the Radicals behind him? If your doctrine be good, do you intend to agitate as a member of the Government? You profess to believe in the efficacy and necessity of the Ballot, and you say no great question can be carried without agitation. Does your position as a Cabinet Minister exempt you from the duty of agitating in favour of the Ballot? If you agitate in its favour, the noble Lord must agitate against it. Here is the first result of your open questions. How edifying will it be to see the noble Lord, and the right honourable gentleman after a conference in Cabinet on the convulsed state of the country, or other arcana imperii, part company at the end of Downing Street, each to carry on his separate system of agitation! Great, indeed, will be the vigour of your Administration, and cordial the concert of your

Cabinet. But suppose you abstain from agitation; suppose, in order to prevent collision in the Cabinet, you never discuss either Corn Laws or Ballot, or any other of the open questions, what answer will you make to your constituents at Edinburgh? Out of office you declared yourself in favour of these measures, — in office you repeated the assurance that you were faithful to your principles. From the proud Keep of Windsor you proclaimed your fidelity to them, not from the gratification of any vulgar personal vanity, but from the firm resolution that truth should be spoken in high places, and that from the palace of kings the comfortable tidings of Radical Reform should be conveyed by a voice of authority. Will it suffice to answer, when your constituents require the fulfilment of your promises, 'I gave you no pledges,—declarations in abundance, I admit; but pledges, I utterly disclaim them.' They will remind you that they hailed your return from foreign lands to the shores of England,—that they found you panting for distinction, and lifted you, through their favour, into the councils of the empire. If their native tongue will not suffice for this classic constituency, you have taught them, by reminding me of former reproaches, where they may find, in the passionate exclamations of Dido, the fit expression of their sorrows:

'Nusquam tuta fides!'

Nay, they may proceed with the quotation—

'Nusquam tuta fides! ejectum littore egentem
Excepi, et regni demens in parte locavi.'

'Shall there be no fruit,' they will exclaim, 'of our mutual love, no little Bill stamped with the image of its

father, and reflecting in its face the features of paternal vigour and intelligence?'

> 'Saltem si qua mihi de te suscepta fuisset,
> Ante fugam soboles, si quis mihi parvulus aulâ
> Luderet Æneas, qui te tamen ore referret
> Non equidem omnino capta ac deserta viderer.'

You remain deaf to their entreaties. With all your protestations of fidelity, you have nothing to return but the miserable answer of Æneas, after all his coquetting in the cavern, 'Non hæc in fœdera veni,' 'I gave you no pledges.'"

Let those laugh who win. The motion was lost by a majority of twenty-one, and for a few more quarter-days the Ministry were safe. In April, Sir James Graham brought forward a motion on the subject of China, which was virtually a second motion of want of confidence. He was answered, as on the former occasion, by Mr. Macaulay, who argued on his *civis Romanus* principle. His "novissima verba" on the subject were: "He should only further express his sincere hope that the efforts of those who were entrusted with the duty of exacting reparation from the Chinese by an exhibition of English power combined with English mercy and moderation, might be overruled by the care of a gracious Providence, which so often educed good out of apparent evil." He was followed by the lamented Sir William Follett, whose speech, in point of parliamentary ability, would not unfavourably contrast with his own. Sir Robert Peel, "in the absence of every confidence in Her Majesty's Government, would pray to God to avert from the unhappy people over whom war impended, the dreadful calamities which threatened, and to turn away from us the evils

which the neglect or incapacity of our rulers so righteously deserved."

The Ministers again triumphed; but this time their majority was reduced to ten. One more such victory, and they would be undone. This session there was not another field day. The prorogation of Parliament found the Whigs still in possession of Downing Street, but with every prospect of a speedy ejectment.

A few incidents of the session may be mentioned. As War Minister, Macaulay laid down a principle which ought to be generally followed:

"Was Lord Cardigan, then, to be put on the half-pay list? This is not the principle on which the half-pay of this country has been established, nor one to which, while I remain Secretary-at-War, it shall be perverted. The half-pay is no punishment; it is given partly as a reward for past services, and partly as a retainer for future services. Why should it be made a reward for offences? or should a retainer be given to a man who had proved himself entirely unfit for the services of the Crown?"

The following are graceful allusions to old friends in the course of the Copyright debate:—

"My dear and honoured friend Mr. Wilberforce, in his celebrated religious treatise, when speaking of the unchristian tendency of the fashionable novel of the 18th century, most distinctly excepts Richardson from the censure. Another excellent person, whom I can never mention without respect and kindness, Mrs. Hannah More, often declared in conversation, and has declared in one of her published poems, that she first learned from the writings of Richardson those principles of piety by which her life was guided."

Here are some anecdotal remarks in the Irish Registration debate:—

"I will suppose another case—the case of a man of great wealth, and of imperious, obstinate, and arbitrary temper. One of those men who, as has been said by my lamented and valued friend, in words which should be engraven on his tomb, thought much of the rights of property, and little of its duties. I will suppose that man willing to spend 6000*l.*, or 7000*l.* a year in securing the command of a county: that, every man knew, would not be impossible, even in England. I will not mention any recent transaction; I do not wish to mix up personalities with this serious debate, but we all know that a certain man, now dead, provoked by the opposition he received in a certain town, vowed that he would make the grass grow in its streets, and he kept his vow. Another ejected 400 voters in one county, and entered fifteen criminal and 225 civil actions. Such a man could easily command an Irish county. It would only be a picture less in his gallery; or an antique gem the less in his collection. The costs would be but as dust under his feet, compared with the pleasure of domination."

In the recess died Henry Richard Vassall, Lord Holland, the friend of Macaulay and of all literary men, who like himself had been political disciples of his uncle Charles James Fox. As a traveller, politician, and modern scholar, he was remarkable; but he is especially remarkable for the protests which he was to place on the Journals of the House of Lords, which are very elaborate and important, more especially one relating to Napoleon's confinement at St. Helena. We cannot refrain from quoting his own touching and eloquent language respecting Holland House and its noble owner:—

"The time is coming when perhaps a few old men, the last survivors of our generation, will in vain seek amidst new streets, and squares, and railway stations, for the site of that dwelling which was in their youth the favourite resort of wits and beauties, of painters and poets, of scholars, philosophers, and statesmen. They will then remember, with strange tenderness, many objects once familiar to them—the avenue and the terrace, the busts and the paintings; the carving, the grotesque gilding, and the enigmatical mottoes. With peculiar fondness they will recall that venerable chamber in which all the antique gravity of a college library was so singularly blended with all that female grace and wit could devise to embellish a drawing-room. They will recollect, not unmoved, those shelves loaded with the varied learning of many lands and many ages: those portraits in which were preserved the features of the best and wisest Englishmen of two generations. They will recollect how many men who have guided the politics of Europe—who have moved great assemblies by reason and eloquence—who have put life into bronze and canvas, or who have left to posterity things so written as it shall not willingly let them die—were there mixed with all that was loveliest and gayest in the society of the most splendid of capitals. They will remember the singular character which belonged to that circle, in which every talent and accomplishment, every art and science, had its place. They will remember how the last debate was discussed in one corner, and the last comedy of Scribe in another; while Wilkie gazed in modest admiration on Reynolds' Barretti, while Mackintosh turned over Thomas Aquinas to verify a quotation; while Talleyrand related his conversations with Barras at the Luxembourg, or his ride with Lannes over the field of

Austerlitz. They will remember, above all, the grace—and the kindness far more admirable than grace—with which the princely hospitality of that ancient mansion was dispensed. They will remember the venerable and benignant countenance and the cordial voice of him who bade them welcome. They will remember that temper which years of pain and sickness, of lameness, of confinement, seemed only to make sweeter and sweeter; and that frank politeness which at once relieved all the embarrassment of the youngest and most timid writer or artist who found himself for the first time among Ambassadors and Earls."

Mr. Justice Talfourd has described the evenings at Holland House, with which he himself was well acquainted, in his *Final Memorials of Charles Lamb*. He compares the evenings at Lord Holland's to those of Charles Lamb; and thus proceeds to describe Mr. Macaulay himself.

"But then a younger spirit appeared at Lord Holland's table to redress the balance—not so poetical as Coleridge, but more lucid—in whose vast and joyous memory all the mighty past lived and glowed anew; whose declamations presented, not groups tinged with distant light, like those of Coleridge, but a series of historical figures in relief, presented in bright succession—the embossed surfaces of heroic life."

When Parliament re-assembled in 1841, the Ministers were weaker than ever. They had undergone losses in the recess, at a time when every vote was of consequence. Nevertheless, people wondered if anything in the world could dislodge them. They clung to their places with desperate tenacity, and were prepared to try every chance and hazard. To conciliate Mr. O'Connell and his tail,

the Irish Registration Bill was brought forward—virtually a new Reform Bill for Ireland—which would reduce the suffrage one half. The ministerial majority fell to five; and it was evident that the party that had ruled England with a brief intermission for eleven years, was at its last gasp. The Corn Law agitation was now assuming definite and larger proportions, and it would not be impossible to turn it to profitable account. Although Lord Melbourne had declared the repeal of the Corn Laws the greatest insanity which could enter the human head, and though Lord John had opposed this last session, he now gave notice that on the 31st of May he would move for a Committee of the whole House to consider the Acts of Parliament relating to the importation of grain. In the meanwhile, the Chancellor of the Exchequer brought forward a Budget which convulsed the country, and was universally condemned. On a division, the ministerial proposition for the reduction of the duties on sugar was lost by thirty-six. The question of Free Trade was virtually on trial, and Lord Palmerston, in a remarkable speech, predicted that if Sir Robert and his friends came into power, their regard for the finances and commerce of the country would compel them to propose Free Trade measures. It was generally expected that Lord John would announce the resignation of Ministers next evening. Instead of doing so, it was calmly announced that the sugar duties would be taken next Monday, and the Corn Laws on the 4th of June. The tactics of the Ministers were now clear. They would sacrifice their Budget, and endure any amount of defeat. They would bring forward the Corn Laws, and then dissolve with a cry for cheap bread, at the time when the country would be in the height of the Corn Law agitation. The astute leader of

the Opposition anticipated them. He gave notice that on the last day of May he would bring forward a direct motion of want of confidence. In the course of his speech Sir Robert Peel said: "On the 19th of December the government of Mr. Fox and Lord North was dissolved."

Here Mr. Macaulay interrupted — "Dismissed, you mean."

Sir R. Peel — "I am much obliged to the right honourable gentleman, but I really thought when a Government had been dismissed it might be said to be dissolved."

The same evening Mr. Macaulay delivered a speech which he has not included in his own edition. It must be pronounced unworthy of him. It must indeed have been intended for the hustings rather than the House, and talked in a strain repellent to well-informed people about undue influence, and ejectments, and corruption, and aristocratic influence and powers. Though he spoke late, the House listened, and almost emptied itself directly he had finished. The great speeches of Lord John Russell and Sir Robert Peel closed the debate of four days, in which last Sir Robert quoted the line—

"For sufferance is the badge of all your tribe."

The Government was defeated by a majority of *one*—a like majority had ushered in the French revolution of 1789 and the English revolution of 1831. The Ministers at once threw themselves upon the country.

It was a time of extraordinary excitement. It was the men more than the measures who were on their trial. Their free-trade skiff failed the Ministers, they had been in office for eleven years and had done nothing, and

they would do nothing now save for a selfish expediency. Reform was an effete cry. The free use of the Queen's name would avail them no longer. The dissolution was an act of political suicide. Everywhere the elections went against them. Lord John only straggled back to the House by *seven* votes, O'Connell was thrown out in Dublin, Sir De Lacy Evans in Westminster, and Lord Morpeth in the West Riding. It was known that the Ministers were in a very considerable minority.

Mr. Macaulay presented himself at Edinburgh for re-election. In his case there was no opposition offered, and none ought to have been offered. He had not been a member of the Cabinet during those disastrous years in which the Melbourne Ministry had so acted as to forfeit the confidence of people and Parliament; and whatever selfish motives might be attributed to some of them, he himself was at least free. He had neither sought office nor wished to retain it on selfish grounds, but had always exhibited a disinterestedness and public spirit not always exhibited by public men. The following are some of the remarks which he made on the occasion:—

"It was a singular inconsistency that those who accused the Government of having caused a deficiency in the revenue by a wasteful profusion of public money, should at the same time attack the Ministry for not adding to the public expenditure by increasing the strength of our naval and military establishments. He would not enter into a defence of the particular measures brought forward by Government, but he would say that he had stood by Lord Palmerston, and had supported him in a policy which was necessary to the welfare and prosperity of the country. He thought the nation never stood higher in the estimation of the civilised world than

it did at this moment, and to the noble Lord who presided over our foreign affairs was all the glory and honour due. The Government being involved in difficulties connected with finance, the question was, what was the best remedy to adopt. The Government might have borrowed money, and have put off the evil from one day to another. There were only two courses left for them to pursue; the one was to increase the amount of taxation, the second was by attacking some great monopoly that fettered the interests of the country. In the adoption of this policy, if Government had proceeded to grapple with each monopoly individually, great difficulties would have arisen; they therefore resolved at once to carry out the great principle of free-trade, and to introduce a complete reform in our commercial code. Government had been defeated first on the sugar question, on the ground that the proposed resolution would increase slavery and the slave-trade. If any one felt strongly on that question he was the man. He would not refer to the sacrifices he had made on former occasions. He would show that the principle of Lord Sandon's amendment was utterly futile. He would not accuse the noble Lord, for whom personally he entertained great respect, of hypocrisy, but this he would say—that many hypocrites voted for the amendment (cheers and hisses) who were found in that majority. Why individuals who had always strenuously supported slavery, and had opposed slave-emancipation—persons who lived by slavery, on whose estates women had been cruelly whipped and enormities practised (cheers), was it not ridiculous for persons who were supported by slave-grown cotton and tobacco to come down to the House and oppose the measure of Government on the ground of its encouraging the pro-

ductions of slave-labour? He then proceeded to say that it had been suggested to him, since he came down, that he should say a few words on a subject which in this part of the empire produced great excitement." He proceeded to speak on the subject of the disruption, but as this belongs to a region of discussion about which, unhappily, very little interest is generally taken, we do not follow him.

The Parliament assembled on the 19th of August. Lord John and Sir Robert met at the bar and shook hands "very cordially," probably after gladiatorial fashion. With great cordiality also the Speaker of the last Parliament was re-elected. The speech from the throne partook of a controversial character very unusual in royal speeches, but Ministers took to themselves the responsibility of this. The address being moved in each House, an amendment was proposed of no confidence, and in each House carried by an overwhelming majority. The reply from the Queen came in due course. "Ever anxious to listen to the advice of my Parliament, I will take immediate measures for the formation of a new Administration." The Whigs were out at last, and however much the Whig element may have predominated in later Administrations, a Ministry purely Whig has never since that time existed. It was now out of the question —and the Court knew it well—that the ladies of the household should interpose any further difficulties. They were ready to resign, and the Queen was prepared to accept their resignation. It is stated that at the final dinner, where the Queen and the ladies were present, scarcely a word was spoken, and that tears and regrets afterwards broke forth without restraint. The separation was far more complete than if Lord Melbourne's unconstitutional

procedure had not previously taken place. It was a busy day at Claremont, Friday, September the third. There was painful but necessary work to be done, but before long the Queen would surely appreciate and rely upon Sir Robert, and the fresh faces among the household would become as familiar and dear as those of whom the stern Premier was depriving her. First of all, in plain clothes, the old Ministers drove up and delivered the seals of office, and then the new Ministers, glittering in Court attire, passed through the gates, and it was observed that the sun for the first time broke forth through the clouds. The ex-Ministers are gone, the Duke and Sir Robert have kissed hands, the new Privy Councillors are sworn in; the Melbourne Administration has passed away, and Mr. Macaulay is no longer a Cabinet Minister.

CHAPTER IX.

HER MAJESTY'S OPPOSITION.

THIS chapter must be a brief one. To write the history of the Whig Opposition from 1841 to 1846 would be to deal with an important section of English history. We are coming to events of which the new generation will themselves have some dim recollections. The materials are no longer, as in other chapters, difficult or impossible of access. Our account of the Whig Opposition during the time when Sir Robert Peel was the oracle and dictator of the House of Commons—and even in the opinion of far-sighted people it seemed more than probable that his rule would be commensurate with his existence—will only relate to certain passages in which Mr. Macaulay himself was directly concerned. Mr. Macaulay has assumed for the Opposition the credit of being the very model of a constitutional Opposition. Without minutely criticising that observation, we shall not for a moment dispute it, so far as his own conduct is concerned.

The new leisure which was now imposed upon Mr. Macaulay was turned to profitable account. Early in 1842 appeared his *Lays of Ancient Rome*. They were written, it is believed, in a very appropriate place, the *War Office*. At the time there was a deep and monotonous calm in our poetical literature which Macaulay broke as with the sound of a clarion. More spirited poetry had not

been produced since the time of Scott. Every schoolboy, and this is very high commendation, knows the ballads by heart. The correctness of the classical theory, in reference to which these were written, is a separate question, about which different opinions will be entertained. An article by Mr. Thompson, in the *Encyclopædia Metropolitana*, discusses the subject. They are certainly lays which a bard of Rome might have sung, had Rome possessed a Macaulay.

The displaced Ministers had scarcely reason to envy their successors. Though strong in character, influence, and rank, the difficulties in the way of Sir Robert Peel were overwhelming. Both at home and abroad there was every reason for disquietude. France was alienated by the events of Acre, and Russia by the events of Herat; the West Indies were simply ruined, in Canada the embers of rebellion were still smouldering; the Caffres were at their murderous work at the Cape, and in India we were trembling on the borders of the great Affghanistan rebellion. In the meanwhile in England the prices of wheat were nearly doubled, and in some quarters the price of labour was nearly halved. There was great distress in the manufacturing districts, and though this distress was often nobly borne, yet serious riots ensued in England, and riots still more serious in Scotland. Under these circumstances, very soon after the meeting of Parliament, came on the debate on the Corn Laws, concerning which Mr. Macaulay spoke at some length. The orators of the League had skilfully availed themselves of the general suffering for the purposes of political agitation. It was the proposition of Sir Robert Peel that there should be a sliding scale of duties on foreign corn, ranging from 1*s.* to 20*s.* per quarter, the effect of which

would have been to keep the price of wheat at from 70*s.* to 74*s.* It was the proposition of Mr. Villiers that there should be an immediate and total repeal of the Corn Laws. Mr. Macaulay disapproved of the principle of Sir Robert's measure. He approved of the principle of Mr. Villiers' motion. But he objected to the word "now." Any repeal ought to be within a reasonable distance of time, to allow the farmer time to transfer his capital from one branch of industry to another. To insist on immediate repeal was mere bigotry and folly. "I clearly understand the honourable member to move his resolution, in a fit of despair as it were; and that, knowing he can get nothing, he is resolved to ask a good deal more than he wants." He believed the people of Edinburgh would not be quite satisfied with his vote. And his constituents were eminently impartial judges in a case of this kind. They inhabited a city the seat of a university, of government, of administration of the law, of attractive and literary societies, the resort of the country gentry at stated seasons of the year. They had no foreign trade, and no manufactures. They had no interest in the matter beyond the common interests of the empire. The opinion of the people of Edinburgh was very strongly in favour of free-trade. In the course of his speech Mr. Macaulay alluded to a speech of Lord Palmerston's on the subject. It is a very remarkable speech, and the peroration was most brilliant. It was to this that Mr. Macaulay alluded, and we give the extract from Lord Palmerston:

"Why is the earth on which we live divided into zones and climates? Why, I ask, do different countries yield different productions to people experiencing similar wants? Why are they intersected with mighty rivers, the natural highway of nations? Why are the lands most distant

from each other, brought almost into contact by that very ocean which seems to divide them? Why, sir, it is that man may be dependent upon man. It is that the exchange of commodities may be accompanied by the extension and diffusion of knowledge, by the interchange of mutual benefits engendering mutual kind feelings, multiplying and confirming friendly relations. It is that commerce may go freely forth, leading civilisation with the one hand and peace with the other, to render mankind happier, wiser, and better." (Lord Palmerston's speech on the Corn Law question, Feb. 16, 1842.)

The financial difficulties were enormous. The Whigs, who had entered office with a surplus of three millions, had quitted office with a deficiency of two millions and a half. Affghanistan would cause an additional expense not far from five millions. In a crowded House, and amid breathless silence, Sir Robert Peel brought forward his bold and manly propositions, and few persons had given him credit for the degree of courage which they required. This was the permanent burden of our fiscal system, the Income-tax. Although the motion at first created great alarm in many quarters, it was thought no serious opposition would be offered. The Whigs thought, however, upon reflection, that it was the duty of a "constitutional Opposition" to address themselves to the elements of this uneasiness and alarm. On the 4th of April, Lord John Russell brought forward an amendment condemnatory of the tax, and a debate of four nights ensued.

On the part of the Opposition, Mr. Macaulay used the obvious argument of the palpable injustice of the tax. An income-tax should only be employed in extreme necessity, and had that extreme necessity really come?

He spoke of the inquisitorial nature of the tax—that the life of many men was a war to avoid the confession of poverty — a confession which was now to be extorted from them. The mention of Affghanistan was mere rhetoric and sophistry. Those events had happened since the introduction of the measure, and the Minister's use of them was an afterthought. This was a tax, moreover, which would not inspire foreign nations with a just idea of the spirit and resources of England. There were other obvious means by which the finances might be improved; these had not only been neglected, but valuable duties had been thrown away to the impairing of the revenue and to the injury of the country.

The honesty and manliness of his political career is evidenced by his conduct in reference to the Chartists. Mr. Duncombe had moved that the petitioners for the Charter be heard at the bar of the House. "With regard to the motion that has been made," said Mr. Macaulay, "I cannot conscientiously vote for it. The honourable member for Finsbury has shaped the motion with considerable skill, so as to give me a very fair plea to vote for it, if I wished to evade the discharge of my duty, so that I might say to my Conservative constituents, 'I never supported Universal Suffrage, or those extreme points for which these petitioners call;' or to a large assembly of Chartists, 'When your case was before the House of Commons, on that occasion, I voted with you.' But I think that in a case so important I should not discharge my duty if I had recourse to any such evasion, and I feel myself compelled to meet the motion with a direct negative. . . . For my own part, my mind is made up in opposition to their prayer, and being so, I conceive that the House might complain of me, and the petitioners also might

complain of me, if I were to give an untrue impression of my views by voting in favour of this motion. . . . An accusation founded upon such grounds I shall, if I can, prevent their bringing against me." He denounced the exaggerated notion which had misled the people. "There has been a constant and systematic attempt for years to represent the Government as about to do, and as bound to attempt, that which no Government ever attempted. It has been treated as if the Government possessed some mine of wealth—some extraordinary means of supplying the wants of the people; as if they could give them bread from the clouds, water from the rocks, to increase the bread and the fishes five-thousandfold."

In the same session the Copyright Bill was passed. Sir Archibald Alison, in his later work on the History of Europe—a work of partial value and imperfect execution —states that Lord Mahon's (Earl Stanhope's) Bill was carried despite "the efforts of Mr. Macaulay, who, strange to say, strained every nerve to defeat a measure calculated to give independence to a class of which he himself was so bright an ornament." The present law was virtually settled by Mr. Macaulay, and not by Lord Stanhope. The proposition of the noble lord was copyright for life, with the addition of twenty-five years; Mr. Macaulay's proposal was copyright for life or for forty-two years, whichever should be longest. Sir Archibald seems not to have fully apprehended the respective merits of the two proposals. Mr. Macaulay argued that his plan was more just and reasonable, a greater boon to men of letters, and much less inconvenient to the public. The readers of his speech will most probably be inclined to agree with him, as did the House of Commons. It is remarkable that on one of these copyright debates his

speech was able entirely to divert the decision of the House.

His first speech next session was a powerful philippic against the Earl of Ellenborough. This was, on Mr. Vernon Smith's motion, condemnatory of Lord Ellenborough's proclamation respecting the restoration of the gates of a temple at Somnauth. He first of all charged Lord Ellenborough with putting a false date to the proclamation for the sake of a paltry and contemptible triumph, an act that indicated an intemperate mind, unfit for a high trust. He reprobated the idea that he was sharing in any religious outcry against Lord Ellenborough. "I solemnly declare that I would at any time be the victim rather than the tool of fanaticism, and that if the conduct of Lord Ellenborough was called in question for using theist toleration towards all religions, or for any reprobation of the misguided zeal of Christian missionaries, I would, notwithstanding our political differences, be the first to stand forward in his defence." He then proceeded to speak of the idolatry of India, and how difficult a question it was in morals and government. "Gradually a system has been introduced which every one who is aware of the state of India will admit to be of considerable importance. I am not aware, at the present moment, that the rules laid down by the Home Government for the conduct of our Indian authorities admit of any considerable improvement. I think it was my Lord Wellesley who led the way and abolished the immolation of female children; and great as is the title of that eminent statesman to the gratitude of his country, this was one of the proudest of the claims which his friends and those who regret his loss will rejoice to acknowledge. In the year 1813 the restriction on the admission of missionaries was abolished. At a later

period, sir, Lord W. Bentinck abolished the Suttee. An order was also sent out by the Government at home on the subject of the pilgrim-tax. Lord Glenelg—I was in office at the time, and I know the fact—Lord Glenelg, with his own hand, wrote that most important and valuable despatch of February, 1833, to which such frequent reference has been made. In that despatch—and I recollect it so well that I can almost state with precision the paragraph and quote its substance, almost its exact words—in the 62nd paragraph of that despatch, will be found a complete system, I might call it, of legislation, but a code of conduct for the Indian authorities."

These things being so, the Government having established a wise neutrality, Lord Ellenborough had violated it. He had sent troops to carry these gates from a Mahometan mosque to a Hindoo temple, and place them on the restored Temple of Somnauth. Not only had Lord Ellenborough deviated from orders, but he had deviated in the worst possible way. He had offered insult to truth and had paid homage to falsehood. The false religion which he had upheld was Brahmanism, the most polluted form of polytheism. While thus siding with the Hindoos, he had inflicted the greatest outrage on the Mahometans, and when the proclamation should be abrogated, the hopes of the Hindoos would be disappointed. He commented severely on the turgid language of these proclamations. It might be urged that these resembled the documents issued by the native princes. "But is that a parallel case? May it not as well be said that it was fit that the noble lord should let his beard grow down to his waist; that he should attire himself in the Eastern costume; that he should hang about his person jewels and glittering ornaments; and that he should ride through the streets of

Calcutta upon a horse gaily caparisoned and ornamented with jingling bells and glass beads, and all the showy paraphernalia of the native princes." He would tell the House where Lord Ellenborough borrowed this foolish proclamation. It was an imitation of those trashy rants which proceeded from the proconsuls of France in the time of the Directory, during the French Revolution, and more especially of that address which was put forth at the time of the passage of the Po. Was it for a Conservative Governor-General to find his models in the papers of Revolutionary France? Did he suppose that such men as Warren Hastings and Sir Charles Metcalfe would not employ this style if there was any advantage in it? He would pawn his life that Lord Ellenborough had never taken the advice of that eminent individual with whom he had the pleasure of being acquainted, and whose name was attached to the notification. The right honourable baronet was a powerful Minister—a Minister more powerful than we had had for many years; and yet his power, great and extensive as it was, compared with that of the Governor-General, was as nothing. The Governor-General might override his counsel, and all that they could do was to call upon him to write down the reasons of his adverse decision. He would address himself to the Board of Directors, and give them most faithful and sincere counsel. Considering the heavy responsibility, let them not hesitate to recall Lord Ellenborough.

The opinion of Lord Macaulay on Indian subjects are always interesting and important. They were matters upon which, from personal knowledge and experience, he could speak with authority. Ultimately the Court of Directors adopted his advice, and, according to the powers vested in them by their Charter, recalled Lord Ellenborough.

Another subject of great national and international importance which came this session (1843) under parliamentary discussion, and which elicited very severe criticism from Mr. Macaulay, was the Treaty of Washington. To this Lord Palmerston, with his usual happiness, gave the sobriquet of the "Ashburton Capitulation." The treaty concerned some of those serious matters of dispute between our own country and the United States which on various occasions have nearly brought the two kindred nations to the blaze of civil war. The Whigs had bequeathed to the Tories the legacy of a dispute concerning the right of search. Without going into the circumstances of the original dispute, it is enough to say that the Americans, inflamed with passion, denounced the English as pirates and murderers, and threatened blood and fire. Happily both England and America possessed, in relation to foreign affairs, a wise and moderate Ministry, and the question was adjusted on the basis that when reasonable grounds existed for suspecting that the United States flag was used only as a pretence, the British cruiser might board the vessel, and demand production of the ship's papers, under the liability of making reparation for damage and delay in the event of the vessel proving to be really American. About this time broke out the dispute concerning the Maine boundary. The Treaty of Independence did not accurately define the unsettled geography of the uninhabited country between the Canadian and the American provinces. All evidence and all argument seemed strongly to preponderate on the British side. The King of Holland, to whom the matter was referred for arbitration, on two of the three points submitted gave his award in favour of the British; and did not settle the third point, on the ground that there were

not sufficient materials on which to base a decision. The Americans would not submit to be bound by the award, and there appeared to be an imminent danger of war. Sir Robert Peel clearly discerned, that, though painful sacrifices might be necessary, in the present condition of the country a compromise was absolutely necessary. He dispatched Lord Ashburton on a mission of peace—a merchant recently ennobled, and from his mercantile pursuits well adapted to deal with the American people. "I readily and cordially admit the extent of his information," said Mr. Macaulay, in his place in Parliament, "and I sincerely admire those eminent abilities which I have seen displayed in this House with great profit and advantage to the public; and from which I have myself derived pleasure and instruction." He succeeded in concluding a treaty which should both settle the boundary question and also the right of search on the high seas in the time of peace. Unhappily, the territorial arrangements were settled in a manner contrary to justice, contrary to our interest, involving the cession to America of the most extensive and the most valuable lands in dispute. This treaty, then, when Lord Palmerston moved for copies of communications that had passed between the Government and Lord Ashburton, was severely criticised by Mr. Macaulay. His grave and statesmanlike objections have great weight, deserve careful attention, and in a large measure have been verified by the result. He laid down, in careful and luminous language, the requirements that ought to be sought for according to the proper idea of a treaty. Three conditions were necessary. The first condition was, that the honour and dignity of this country should not be compromised. The second condition was, that the treaty should remove causes of difference, and at

least not leave the nation in a worse condition. The third condition was, that the treaty should produce kind and cordial feeling, and should go far to hinder the recurrence of similar disputes. On this occasion, as on others, Mr. Macaulay proved himself a great publicist. The great writers on international law, as early as Grotius or as late as Wheaton, have not expressed the notion of a treaty in language equally accurate and popular. Mr. Macaulay argued in detail on each of these divisions, and expressed his doubts, and more than doubts, that the Ashburton negotiations did not fulfil these conditions.

Mr. Macaulay certainly did his best to carry out his idea of what a constitutional Opposition ought to be. As a public man, and as a prominent public man, he vigorously examined all the measures of the Peel Ministry. Not even when he was in office does he appear to have attended the House more regularly, or to have spoken more frequently, or with greater care. Indeed, if a difference is to be detected, I should say that he spoke less frequently in office than when out of office. He does not appear to have made any speeches that were merely factious, or to have given any votes that were merely factious, but on all occasions to have pursued a consistent, disinterested, and patriotic course.

I would cite a few passages from ohter speeches that appear very illustrative of his character. For instance, his vivid and eminently cultured mind could watch in passing occurrences the phenomena of historical law, could connect all scattered streams of events with the great river of time, and could detect the relations of the events of the day with the great scope and plan of history. Better instances of this may be found than the one

I cite, but it may serve. We have passed on to another session, that of 1844. It is a debate on the state of Ireland, always Sir Robert Peel's great difficulty.

"It happened throughout the whole of that century, that our slavery and their freedom meant one and the same thing; and that the very events, dates, and names which in the mind of an Englishman were associated with the glory and prosperity of his country, were associated in that of an Irishman with all that had worked the ruin and degradation of his. Take the name of William III., the memory of the Battle of the Boyne. I never recollect being so forcibly struck with anything as with a circumstance which occurred on a day I have every reason to remember with gratitude and pride—the day when I had the honour of being declared member for Leeds. While I was chaired, I observed that all the windows were filled with orange ribbons, and the streets crowded with persons wearing orange-flowers; all these were in favour of the Catholic emancipation, and animated with the strongest feeling to contend for equality of rights being granted to their Catholic fellow-subjects. I could not help observing that the orange ribbon seemed rather incongruous. 'Not at all,' was the answer; 'under an orange flag the Whigs of Yorkshire have always banded together. An orange flag was carried before Sir George Saville, one of the first persons who stood here on the basis of equal rights for all.' The very chair in which I sat, it was added, was the chair in which Lord Milton had been carried when he gained the victory in the great cause of religious liberty against Lord Harewood. Now, what effect would this have produced in Limerick? It would have been at once considered as a mark of triumph over and insult to the Catholic party,

marking a disagreement at every point in the history and even of the moral being of these two nations."

The following conclusion to his speech on the Unitarian Chapels Bill,* is highly honourable to him, and very characteristic:

"We know that that sect is small—that it is unpopular—that it can produce little effect upon elections; perhaps I may go so far as to say that it would probably be the best way, to win public favour, altogether to repudiate them and their doctrines; and therefore, if such be the case—if there be any person of an arbitrary nature and intolerant turn of mind who wishes to enjoy the pleasure of persecution with perfect personal impunity—then I say that he can have no more excellent opportunities for the indulgence of his propensities than the present. For myself, sir, I have taken up the doctrines of civil and religious liberty, not because they are popular, but because they are just; and the time may come soon when some of those who are now crying out against this Bill may be compelled to appeal to the principles on which it rests; and if that shall be the case, then, sir, I will attempt to prevent others from oppressing them, as I now seek to keep them from lording it over others. At present, I contend against their insolence in the same spirit as I may hereafter have to battle for their rights."

Here is another specimen of his mingled vein of rhetoric, anecdote, and indignant eloquence.†

"I have detained you too long, sir. Yet there is one point to which I must refer—I mean the refining. Was such a distinction ever heard of? Is there anything like it in all Pascal's Dialogues with the old Jesuit? Not

* June 6th, 1844.

† Speech on the Sugar Duties, Feb. 26th, 1845.

for he world are we to eat one ounce of Brazilian sugar. But we import the accursed thing; we bond it; we employ our skill and machinery to render it more alluring to the eye and to the palate; we export it to Leghorn and Hamburgh; we send it to all the coffee-houses of Italy and Germany: we pocket a profit on all this; and then we put on a Pharisaical air, and thank God that we are not like those sinful Italians and Germans who have no scruple about swallowing slave-grown sugar. Surely this sophistry is worthy only of the worst class of false witnesses. I perjure myself? Not so for the world! I only kissed my thumb; I did not put my lips to the calf-skin.

"I remember something very like the right honourable Baronet's morality in a Spanish novel which I read long ago. I beg pardon of the House for detaining them with such a trifle, but the story is much to the purpose. A wandering lad, a sort of Gil Blas, is taken into the service of a rich old silversmith, a most pious man, who is always telling his beads, who hears mass daily, and observes the feasts and fasts of the Church with the utmost scrupulosity. The silversmith is always preaching honesty and piety. Never, he constantly repeats to his young assistant, never touch what is not your own—never take liberties with sacred things. Sacrilege, as uniting theft with profaneness, is the sin of which he has the deepest horror. One day, while he is lecturing after his usual fashion, an ill-looking fellow comes into the shop, with a sack under his arm. 'Will you buy these?' says the visitor, and produces from the sack some church plate, and a rich silver crucifix. 'Buy them!' cries the pious man; 'no, nor touch them, not for the world! I know where you got them. Wretch that you are! have you no care for your soul?' 'Well, then,' says the thief, 'if you

will not buy them, will you melt them down for me?' 'Melt them down,' answers the silversmith, 'that is quite another matter.' He takes the chalice and the crucifix with a pair of tongs; the silver thus in bond is dropped into the crucible, melted, and delivered to the thief, who lays down five pistoles, and decamps with his booty. The young servant stares at this strange scene. But the master very gravely resumes his lecture. 'My son,' he says, 'take warning by that sacrilegious knave, and take example by me. Think what a load of guilt lies on his conscience. You will see him hanged before long. But as to me, you saw that I would not touch the stolen property. I keep these tongs for such occasions. And thus I thrive in the fear of God, and manage to turn an honest penny.'

"You talk of morality. What can be more immoral than to bring ridicule on the very name of morality by drawing distinctions where there are no differences? Is it not enough that a set of quibbles has been devised, under cover of which a divine may hold the worst doctrines of the Church of Rome, and may hold with them the best benefice of the Church of England? Let us keep the debates of this House free from the sophistry of *Tract* No. 90."

In every session of Parliament there is some question which becomes emphatically the question of the session. The question of 1845 was the Maynooth question. Sir Robert Peel proposed very considerably to augment the sum originally voted to the College of Maynooth by the Irish Parliament. He hoped, by transferring the grant to the Consolidated Fund, the irritation of an annual grant might be avoided. The chronic agitation on the subject has frustrated this hope; neither have the other

hopes of Sir Robert Peel found their fulfilment. He trusted that the Roman Catholic priests, being educated at home instead of abroad, might be delivered from the bitter feeling that so generally existed towards England and her Protestant institutions. This expectation has been disappointed, inasmuch as the education of St. Omer is more tolerant and enlightened than that of Maynooth.

In the course of his speech, Mr. Macaulay made the following acute remarks concerning Sir Robert Peel:—

"I have no feeling of personal hostility, and I trust that the political hostility I shall avow, by no means precludes me from admitting, that the right honourable baronet at the head of the Government is a man of considerable capabilities as a legislator; he possesses great talents for debate, for the management of this House, and for the transaction of official business. He has great knowledge, and, I doubt not, is actuated by a sincere desire to promote the interests of the country; but it is impossible for me with truth to deny that there is too much ground for the reproaches of those who, having, in spite of bitter experience, a second time trusted and raised him to power, have found themselves a second time deluded. It is impossible for me not to say that it has been too much the habit of the right honourable baronet to make use, when in opposition (as he has done in reference to the present question), of passions which he regards with profound contempt, As soon as he reaches power, a change—a salutary change for his country—takes place: the instruments are flung aside; the ladder by which he climbed is kicked down. This is not a solitary instance, and I am forced to say, that this sort of conduct is pursued by the right honourable baronet on something like a system."

The *Times*, ever veering with the veering wind, reflected

the opposition and disunion that existed among the followers of Sir Robert Peel. By this time, the "leading organ" had completely altered its language respecting Mr. Macaulay. He was now *always* weighty and splendid. He was the great essayist and historian. They entreated Sir Robert to ponder the character thus sketched for him. He might see himself inevitably reflected in the pages of history. There was his character dashed off by a master-hand as vividly as if it had been found in one of the renowned critical and historical essays.

Mr. Macaulay determined to support the bill in every stage. He must have known that, representing a Scottish constituency, there was every chance that his conduct would cause the forfeiture of his seat. His constituents remonstrated with him, and his reply was both ready and a little rough. He explained to them that he meant to vote for the bill, and that in opposing it they were acting under a delusion. He was not, however, deterred from launching a fierce philippic against Sir Robert Peel.

"Is it strange that such proceedings as these should excite indignation? Can we wonder at the clamour which has been raised in the country, or be surprised at the petitions which have been showered, thick as a snow-storm, on the table of the House? Is it possible that the people out of doors should not feel indignation at seeing that the very parties who, when we were in office, voted against the Maynooth grant, are now being whipped into the House in order to vote for an increased Maynooth grant? The natural consequences follow. Can you wonder that all those fierce spirits whom you have brought to harass us, now turn round and begin to worry you? The Orangeman raises his howl, and Exeter Hall sets up its bray, and Mr. M'Neil is horror-stricken to think that a still larger

grant is expected for the priests of Baal 'at the table of Jezabel,' and your Protestant operatives of Dublin call for the impeachment of the Minister in exceedingly bad English. But what did you expect? Did you think, when you called up for your own purposes the devil of religious animosities, that you could lay him as easily as you raised him? Did you think when, session after session, you went on attacking those whom you knew to be in the right, and flattering the prejudices of those whom you knew to be in the wrong, that the day of reckoning would never come? That day has come, and now on that day you are doing penance for the disingenuousness of years. If it be not so, clear your fame as public men manfully before this House and this country. Show us some clear principle, with respect to Irish affairs, which has guided you both in office and opposition. Show us how, if you are honest in 1845, you could have been honest in 1841. Explain to us why, after having, when out of place, goaded Ireland into madness, in order to ingratiate yourselves with England, you are now throwing England into a flame in order to ingratiate yourselves with Ireland. Let us hear some argument that, as Ministers, you are entitled to support—which shall not equally show that you were the most factious and unprincipled opposition this country ever saw. Sir, these are my opinions respecting the conduct of the Ministry; but am I, therefore, to take the counsel of the honourable member for Shrewsbury (Mr. Disraeli), and vote against this bill? Not so. I believe the fate of the bill and the fate of the Ministry to be in our hands; but I believe the spectacle of inconsistency which is exhibited on that bench will do mischief enough. That mischief will not be lessened, but infinitely increased, if an answering display of inconsistency be made on this side of the

House. I admit that the circumstance of this bill being brought in by Tories—or Conservatives, whichever they term themselves—may of itself produce evils; they would be doubled if it were rejected by means of the Whigs. It seems to me that then we should have nothing before us but one vast shipwreck of all the public character in the kingdom. And therefore it is that, though at the cost of sacrifices which it is not agreeable to any man to make, and restraining many feelings that I own stir strongly within me, I have determined to give to this bill, through all its stages, my most steady support. To this bill, and to every bill emanating from the Government which shall appear to me calculated to make Great Britain and Ireland one united kingdom, I will give my support; regardless of obloquy, regardless of the risk which I know I run of losing my seat in Parliament. Obloquy so earned I shall readily meet. As to my seat in Parliament, I will never hold it by an ignominious tenure; and I am sure that I can never lose it in a more honourable cause."

His speech on the Irish Church ought to be mentioned. To the Irish Church he was almost bitterly opposed. He thought the Establishment ought to be swept away. I do not stay to discuss the question. I would venture to refer to an invaluable little book, *Irish History and Irish Character*, by Professor Goldwin Smith, and to express a hope that the author will endeavour to elucidate this complex subject, and, I trust, arrive at a verdict very different to that pronounced by Mr. Macaulay.

Concerning Sir Robert Peel's great apostacy on the Corn Laws, I have no need to speak. Mr. Macaulay took no share in those debates. He had a grand opportunity of bringing to a climax all his invectives against Sir Robert Peel's inconsistency, but, probably from a generous mo-

tive, he forbore. Neither am I concerned with those moves of the political chess-board when Lord George Bentinck and Mr. Disraeli, by coalescing with the Whigs, succeeded in ejecting Sir Robert, and in bestowing on the Liberals a prolonged tenure of power. When these events occurred, Mr. Macaulay once more took office as Paymaster-General.

CHAPTER X.

EDINBURGH.

I PROPOSE in this chapter to give some account of the contested election for Edinburgh at the time when Mr. Macaulay vacated his seat by accepting office, which resulted in his return; of the contest which ensued at the general election about a year afterwards, in which he was rejected; of some public events in which he took share during the time that he was without a seat in Parliament; of the contested election at Edinburgh, in which he was returned without any solicitation on his part at the head of the poll, and of the renewed, though unhappily brief parliamentary career that ensued.

When he went down to Edinburgh for re-election, and had in laconic terms issued the customary address, he found there the threatening signs of opposition. Since his last election in 1841, the disruption, with all its mingled elements of good and evil, had taken place. In the heightened religious feeling of the times, and in the strong disposition of the Free Church to evince the spirit and traditions that distinguished the old days of the Covenant, that hatred of popery which the history of popery in Great Britain has made a national sentiment, and even an institution, had reached a point not much below that of the time of the London riots in the seventeenth century, or the Edinburgh riots in the sixteenth. Very many earnest and

influential persons among the Free Churchmen and the Dissenters considered the Maynooth Grant a national sin, and every member who voted for it a guilty man. I trust I am not of the number of those who are bigoted towards bigotry, and intolerant towards intolerance. However deeply we may all regret the exclusion of Mr. Macaulay from the House of Commons, and the unhappiness which it unquestionably caused him, we must do justice to pure motives of earnest men, who, whether mistakenly or not, did under a profound sense of religious duty all in their power to deprive him of his seat, and eventually succeeded in their object. This party, however respectable and well disposed, could not by themselves succeed in ejecting him. They were joined by allies of very questionable character, on whose co-operation they could scarcely reflect with complacency. They were themselves, on their own high ground, guilty of a glaring inconsistency. Moreover the feeble spirit of democracy which pervaded old Athens, and caused its greatest satirist to depict the vagaries of King Mob, was strong in so-called modern Athens, and goes far to justify Bishop Butler's celebrated speculation, that communities may run mad as well as individuals. To use Macaulay's own words, they degraded themselves in degrading him, and the verdict to be passed on their conduct is little else than Temporary Insanity.

The inconsistency to which I allude is this. Mr. Gibson being the other Edinburgh member who had also voted for Maynooth, had similarly vacated his seat by accepting a minor office under Government. Those who opposed Mr. Macaulay on religious grounds, to be consistent, ought also to have opposed Mr. Craig. This, however, they did not do. After Mr. Craig had been returned

without opposition, Mr. Macaulay stepped forward, and in trenchant language pointed out the inconsistency and unfairness.

"I scarcely know by what right I should address you to-day; but if you will extend to me the kindness of a very short hearing, I cannot refuse to do myself the pleasure of congratulating you—of congratulating my honourable friend—of congratulating his venerable parent, upon his return. . . . . Perhaps you will permit me, having discharged the duty of congratulating you, to say a few words respecting myself. If the opposition to me had been raised on any other grounds than those on which it has been raised, I should not on this occasion have come forward, for if a large party had chosen to oppose me, and yet if they supported my honourable friend, on the ground that his qualifications for business, and his local knowledge, were so greatly superior to mine—on the ground that he, as your townsman, and as the son of your most eminent townsman, had peculiar claims upon your favour, I would not have contested the correctness of such an opinion. Most readily shall I admit, on every ground but one, my honourable friend's claims are superior to mine; but on the particular ground on which I am opposed, I affirm that we stand exactly on the same footing. (Cheers.) I would not have said this till my honourable friend was elected. I would not have said so, while pointing to this argument I would seem to be endangering his return; but as that is past all danger, I will ask you to observe, what is the relation between him whom you have unanimously returned, and him for whom a poll is to be taken to-morrow. Both of us voted for the Maynooth Grant. Both of us voted for it through every stage. (Hear, hear, hear.) That paper of which so much

has been said—that resolution in which certain of the electors of the city of Edinburgh said that they would never again return a man who voted for the grant to Maynooth, was sent to my honourable friend as well as myself. That resolution was answered in the same manner. Both of us declared that we could not change our opinions — that we thought we were right, and that we thought the Memorialists were wrong, and that we would continue to vote as we had done, and we continued to vote as we had done before. And now I ask, on what principle is it that my honourable friend should be returned unanimously, and that any of the persons who acquiesced in returning him can consistently oppose me? (Hear, hear, hear.) I put the question on the point of Christian duty. (Cheers.) We stand before you on the same footing in respect to this question. We stand before you, in respect to the Catholic priesthood, exactly on the same footing. Every word that I spoke in the Music Hall, my honourable friend afterwards adopted. Every word that he has spoken to-day I now adopt. (Cheers.) I hear that people are going about trying to put a gloss on my words, and saying that I say this thing and that thing, but I leave a loophole to myself. Now I ask you, has my conduct ever been of that kind? (Cheers.) If my language to you has been generally that of shuffling, truckling, and evading—if I kept the promise to the ear, and broke it to the sense—then I admit you are right to pin me down to terms, framed as accurately as a bond, and as firmly as an Act of Parliament. (Cheers.) But if any person has resorted to such a course, I defy any one to say that it is I. I defy any elector of Edinburgh to produce a single instance of a pledge given by me which has not been fully re-

deemed. (Cheers.) I have only this to say, that the poll which comes on to-morrow I regard as of no common importance. It will be, I believe, the single poll which will be taken on the occasion of the formation of the new Administration. If this great city, the capital of Scotland, shall pronounce that it has confidence in Her Majesty's Government, if it shall pronounce it approves of a conciliatory policy towards Ireland, if it shall pronounce that it is determined not to insult and oppress one-third part of the population of the United Kingdom, it will render a great service to the cause of good government, and of civil and religious freedom. (Cheers.) The contrary result I will not permit myself to anticipate. I believe that our victory is certain. (Loud cheers.) But it must be your care to make it decisive. Let me entreat you to remember that every vote is of consequence; not so much because the event is doubtful, as because the majority will produce an effect which will be felt all over England and Ireland. (Cheers.) On Wednesday, victorious or vanquished, I will meet you here again; for, be the result what it may, I will look you in the face without shame. (Cheers.) I trust, however, that I shall come here to congratulate you on another triumph, and to return you thanks similar to those which have been with so much propriety, manliness, and eloquence, addressed to you by my honourable friend. (Loud cheers.)"

Sir Culling Eardley Smith was the anti-popery candidate. Sir James Forrest, who in other days had proposed Mr. Macaulay, was the chairman of Sir Culling's committee. That gentleman issued an address, in which he protested, doubtless in perfect good faith, that nothing but the hope that he might be instrumental in promoting the cause of their common Protestantism induced him to

come forward. He addressed a crowded meeting in the Waterloo Rooms, and had a very favourable reception. Mr. Macaulay also addressed his constituents at the Music Hall in an eloquent speech of an hour's duration. From his speech, as reported in the local papers, we extract a few graphic passages. He at the outset spoke in graceful, and something more than graceful terms of Sir Robert Peel.

"I have, in what seemed to me to be the proper place and the proper time, said of him that which I think. I have not shrunk in his presence, and when at the height of his power, from censuring those parts of his conduct which seemed to me to be censurable: and it is not in his absence—it is not when he has just quitted power, and at the moment when he has rendered a great service to the country, that I feel inclined to throw any imputations upon him. I would willingly pass by his errors, and dwell only on his reparation. I would willingly forget what were the means by which he rose to power, and remember only for what ends he has used it."

He then discussed in vivid language the conduct of the Whigs during Lord Melbourne's Ministry, and during their term of opposition. Amid abundant cheering and hissing he defended his vote on the Maynooth question. He sketched the position of the new Ministry, and concluded as follows:—

"Whether I shall be honoured by bearing a part in those noble and beneficent measures that shall engage its councils, it is for you to determine. I shall await your determination with little doubt, and with no fear. The contest, which we are told is at hand, can have no issue for which I am not perfectly prepared. Seven years ago, at your spontaneous invitation, an invitation neither directly, nor indirectly, sought by me, I re-entered

public life, which till then, I thought, I had left for ever. While I retained your confidence, I was determined that I would not quit my post. If you now reject my services, it is not my intention to tender them to any other body of electors. I shall consider myself as having received a legitimate and honourable dismissal, such as will authorise me to return to pursuits from which I have derived more happiness than I ever enjoyed in the affairs of the British Senate. To hold office under an administration, or to be in Parliament, ought not to be necessary to any man's happiness, and I bless God that it is not necessary to mine. I do not think any man an object of pity who can, with a character and conscience unsullied, exchange politics for the pleasure of literature and domestic life,—which have a pleasure and distinction which the Government can neither give nor take away. I shall carry with me to my retreat one only regret, a regret of no selfish kind. It will deeply pain me to think that at a time like this—a time when the prospect of good government and repose was opening before us, a time when, after so long a period of gloom and tempest, the dawn of a bright and tranquil day seemed to be breaking upon Ireland, when throughout Great Britain all passions seemed to be strangely lulled, when the constituent bodies of the empire, to which a solemn appeal was made, everywhere answered that appeal in a manner honourable to their good feeling—that there should have been one place under the dominion of senseless clamour and malevolent prejudices, worthy only of a dark age. Yes; for such clamours and such prejudices might well become a dark age,—they might well become a rude and barbarous nation; but it will be to me a subject of deep regret, if I have to carry into my retreat the thought,

that I found it dominant in the liberal and enlightened city of Edinburgh in the nineteenth century."

The nomination day was Friday, July the 10th. He was proposed by the Lord Provost (Mr. Black) in an eloquent speech, as one who had served them faithfully for seven years. "If," said the Lord Provost with eloquent truthfulness, "it has been an honour to him to be elected representative of the capital of Scotland, it has been no less an honour to us that we have a member in Parliament whose speeches and writings have delighted and instructed not only his own countrymen, but all wherever the English language is read. If we were now to refuse to return him, it would not only be an injury and disgrace to this city, but it would be an injury to that Parliament of which he is so bright an ornament. It would also be an injury which would be felt by the country at large. . . . Is there nothing else to do in Parliament but to attend to Maynooth? Are there not ten thousand things of more interest to the country than Maynooth? . . . There is but one subject, there is but one point, as to which there has been fault found with him. Take it for granted that he is wrong, are we to declare that a friend who has been once wrong is to be discarded for that point? But I do not admit that he is wrong."

Sir James Forrest, in proposing the other candidate, read some words from what Mr. Macaulay said in answer to the requisition signed by upwards of a thousand electors. "I differ from a great portion of the electors of Edinburgh, but I will maintain my opinion firmly and unhesitatingly. I know that I am incurring a great risk, that I may lose my seat here, that I may be called upon to pay the penalty for maintaining my opinion, but not-

withstanding this I will not retract, I will not explain. I am prepared to pay that penalty if you will call upon me to do so." Sir James said, "that the language of the requisitionists was not a bare threat, a mere bugbear. As a consistent elector he should redeem his pledge." And so on.

A few words from Mr. Macaulay's address. The following was from his speech on the hustings on nomination day.

Mr. Macaulay came forward, and was received with marks of approbation and hissing. When he obtained a hearing, he said:—"It has ever been my practice, when it has been my duty to address any large assembly of the British people, and when I have known that there was any subject on which their views were particularly opposed to mine, at once, in a straightforward and manly way, to begin with that particular question. (Cheers.) This is the course which I shall take to-day. I have listened with the utmost attention to the reasons given by Sir James Forrest for bringing forward a candidate in opposition to a member, who has faithfully served you during seven years (cheers and hisses), and to a Government which is entering upon its administration with fair prospects, I think, of repose to the country, and of civil and religious liberty to all classes of Her Majesty's subjects. (Hear, hear, from Mr. Macaulay's friends on the hustings.) I have listened to these reasons, and what are they? That honourable baronet acknowledges, and much more than acknowledges, for he praises me in terms most unmerited, the abilities which he has the goodness to impute to me. (Cheers.) He declares that if he looked only to my political conduct, he could not desire another representative. His decla-

ration, his whole opposition to me rests on one principle, and on one principle alone—on one vote, and one vote alone—on the vote on the subject of Maynooth. Of the history of Maynooth, of the nature of that Institution, the Honourable Baronet is profoundly ignorant. (Cheers and hisses.) I will undertake to show to the satisfaction of every one of you, that the Honourable Baronet cannot in the least be bound to vote against me by anything that he may have written and signed, in the month of April, 1845, seeing that he did not know what he was talking about. (Laughter and hisses.) The Honourable Baronet says, 'that the very setting up of Maynooth at all, from its origin, was an outrage to Protestant feelings in this country (a voice from the crowd, 'So it was'); that it was a monstrous wrong to take our property to give it to this Catholic Institution.' The Honourable Baronet does not know that this Institution was set up by the Irish Parliament, when England and when Scotland had nothing whatever to do with the question, when Ireland was absolutely governed by its King, its Irish House of Lords, and its Irish House of Commons—when absolutely we in Scotland had nothing more to do with the founding, with the endowing of that Institution, than we have now to do with the endowing of convents in Spain. (Cheers.) . . . ."

A very large proportion of the electors did not vote. This time Mr. Macaulay was returned, the numbers being:—

For Mr. Macaulay . . .	1735
For Sir C. E. Smith . . .	832
Majority . . .	903

The next election, however, was not far off, and it was resolved that he should then be most strenuously opposed.

Again, the Free Churchmen and the Dissenters were prepared to coalesce against the supporter of Maynooth. It so happened that circumstances had intensified this feeling. The Government had created a new bishopric, that of Manchester, and the old Presbyterian prejudice against prelacy was bitterly wounded. It was said at Edinburgh that on this occasion the pharisees had united with the publicans. Without applying so invidious a term to the Dissenters and Presbyterians, it is true enough that they succeeded in their object by a coalition with the publicans and spirit dealers. These last had sent him a deputation with regard to what they considered undue restrictions on their licences, and Mr. Macaulay had given them to understand that he could do nothing for them. Of course great capital was made by these men of the renowned 'braying' of Exeter Hall. In due season Mr. Macaulay issued his address, in which he asked for the renewal of the high and honourable trust which they had already reposed in him four times during eight years. It was announced that Mr. Cowan, of Valleyfield, a large paper manufacturer, and who was pretty much as paper is to writing when compared with Mr. Macaulay, was to be the opposition candidate. As usual, Mr. Macaulay appeared at the Music Hall and defended his conduct.

On Education and the Suffrage.—"Then I would not only speak my own sentiments on this subject, but when I hear that the interference of the State in education is described as inconsistent with civil liberty, and inconsistent with the voluntary system, I cannot but recollect that during that debate, after which the House of Commons by so great a majority decided in favour of the policy of the Government, there sat under the gallery of the House of Commons, watching our debate with painful interest and

attention, some eminent citizens of the United States, men who have been called by their countrymen to the highest offices—citizens of New England, the genuine pure. breed of the old Puritans, the men who had fled from the tyranny of a too powerful church, and who had sought for freedom in the desert, rather than be denied the rights of conscience in the land of their birth. (Applause.) With these men I had the happiness of speaking, and can truly say they thought it one of the strangest of all paradoxes, coming from a land of universal suffrage—coming from the land of the voluntary system—to pronounce that State education was inconsistent with the principles either of civil or religious freedom. On the contrary, if you ask an enlightened New Englander, he will tell you it is because we have State education we have these things; it is because the State educates the boy that we can safely give a vote to the man; it is because the State furnishes the boy with the schoolmaster that we can trust the man to furnish himself with a priest. (Applause.) I have never, as you know, attempted to court popular applause by declaring myself an advocate for a wide extension of the suffrage; but this I say, that if the suffrage is to be extended far more widely than it is at present, in my opinion it will be when the mind of the generation of the British people has been prepared by an improved system of education. (Applause and disapprobation.) My belief is that in that way alone is the franchise attainable by the body of the people, or can be useful to the body of the people. To give the franchise to men whom you leave ignorant, is to transfer them from one slavery to another. Let it be supposed that you take an ignorant, besotted, and superstitious people, led up and down by the priest of some false or corrupt

religion, who makes them believe that every word he utters has the force of the gospel; do you imagine that by doing away in such a community with rotten boroughs, and giving them universal suffrage, you would be giving them freedom? You would be merely transferring the power from the boroughmonger to the priest; you would be merely transferring from one tyranny to another; and I believe that the intellectual tyranny would be the worst. I believe that there is no slavery like that of the iron which enters into the soul. I believe that the real secret of all liberty will be found in those words by which Divine wisdom rebuked those who vainly boasted of their freedom: 'If the truth shall make you free ye shall be free indeed.'"

The following is a graphic account of the close of a session:—

"No Parliament in which I had sat had ever died what might be called a natural death—the last Parliament that did so being that which was elected in 1820—and which lasted till 1826. Few of us, therefore, could remember what the last hours of a Parliament were which knows that it has but a few hours to live. I may tell you what they are: The House of Commons is turned into a mere hustings. Every member is thinking about his election and his constituents. There is no wish to push forward the public business, but there is a great desire in many members to write and make speeches, which they hope will go to the burghs and counties and secure their return. Accordingly you see motions made of the most absurd kind, motions which nobody ever thought of making, during the first five years of Parliament—motions which could not be carried in less than six months, and which were merely intended as a kind of bait to their con-

stituents. In the same manner gentlemen, who had neglected their parliamentary duties, and stayed away during the first five years, came down in a great hurry to make their presence and existence known in the sixth year. (Laughter.) Other gentlemen, who came in on high Protectionist grounds, having, in following their leaders, turned round and broken their promise to their constituencies, and voted for the repeal of the Corn Laws, finding themselves in danger of falling between two stools, immediately began to take up the highest Protectionist language, while others assumed the highest Radical language, in the hope of managing for themselves some escape or another."

The following is the conclusion of his speech on this occasion:—

"In reference to all questions in respect of my conduct, it is for you to decide. If your decision shall be adverse I shall submit to it without a murmur. That decision, if it be adverse, will probably deprive me of some things which may be thought enviable; of some things which few persons who had so little pretension to them from their fortune and social position have attained to in our time. But my estimate of happiness does not agree with those who place it on such objects. I can truly say I never sought for those things by any crooked course—that I found them only because they lay in the way of duty, and honour, and virtue—that I never solicited them, and that I can relinquish them without a pang. Exclusion from public life may have terrors for the man who is conscious he has brought it upon himself by unworthy conduct towards his country. It may have terrors to the man who has no tastes and no occupations to supply the place of public business; but as for me, my conscience

reproaches me with no wrong. On my integrity, malice itself has never thrown a stain. I have no fear that my hours will pass heavily in retirement; and I do not altogether despair of being able to show, that even in retirement, something may be done for the greatest and most lasting interests of society. Feeling this, I assure you that if you shall think fit to pronounce my dismissal, I shall accept that dismissal not only with tranquillity, but with unaffected cheerfulness. I assure you that no bitter feeling will mingle with the gratitude with which I shall always remember your past kindness; and the very worst wish that I still have for the gentleman who may succeed me is, that he may find in politics as much satisfaction as I shall hope to find in letters and repose."

On the day of nomination he was proposed in a hearty and eloquent speech by Mr. Adam Black, the proprietor of that most national work the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. It was very fitly done that such a man should be his proposer. The seconder was also appropriately chosen. This was Mr. William Tait, the publisher or quondam publisher of a periodical that once had a considerable reputation. Neither mover nor seconder could be heard among the ravings of the frantic and excited mob. Never was a proud capital so disgraced as by the proceedings of that day. Besides the three Liberal candidates, Macaulay, Gibson Craig, and Cowan, the Conservatives had started Mr. Peter Blackburn, "in the hope that in the scramble among the three Liberals they might slip in a Tory." During the proceedings, an effigy was lifted up on a pole on which there was a representation of a jolly looking bishop in full canonicals. It had the following inscription :—

"*The Manchester Bishop.*

"The citizens of Edinburgh, electors, and non-electors, are respectfully informed that the model now exhibited will after the nomination be consigned to the care of Provost Black, for the further inspection of the curious.

"Russell, Macaulay, & Co., manufacturers. Price to the country £5000 per annum.

"N. B.—A fresh supply may be looked for shortly after the meeting of the New Parliament. Prices as above."

Mr. Macaulay, for the last time, advanced to address an Edinburgh audience from the public hustings. Here is the speech, with all the interruptions. It is sad to think of so great a man being baited and bullied by a violent and insensate mob, hounded on by the mingled cries of licensed victuallers:—

"There have been times, gentlemen, in which undoubtedly it was true that the service of the Crown was incompatible with the service of the people. . . . . There have been times,—I speak of those times while the constitution was still taking its form. I speak of the times which preceded the settlement which led to the Revolution, when undoubtedly it was not for the interest of any great community to confide the care of its welfare in Parliament to any person who was in the service of the Crown. (Hear, hear.) In these times the Sovereign and the House of Commons were enemies. Their whole existence was an existence of constant war. The Crown supported evil favourites against the voice of the Commons. The Commons withheld from the Crown habitually, the supplies necessary for the carrying on the administration of Government. (Cries of 'Question, Question.') The great object of the House of Commons

was to obtain some concession from the Crown, and some prerogative in return for doling out the supplies. The great object of the Crown was to cheat the House. of Commons out of money—to hurry the session as fast as possible to an end, the Government during several years being without any parliament at all. ('Question, Question,' and hisses.) The effect of this separation between the Executive and the Legislative powers was weakness in all our councils, internal discord, and the humiliation of the nation in the eyes of all foreign powers. At length a happier time arrived. The different powers which had contended were brought into harmony. The Crown having been placed under certain restraints, it became impossible for any Ministry not supported by the House of Commons to hold office for more than a few weeks. During a long course of time, no person could be a Minister of the Crown unless the people, speaking by their representatives, approved of the general conduct of the Administration. (Cries of 'Question,' hisses, and uproar.) From the time that this became the case—from the time that the Sovereign began to proceed on the principle of constantly administering the Government in conformity with the sense of the representatives of the people." (Renewed cries of 'Question, question,' which came from some persons on the left of the platform as well as from the crowd.) When silence was obtained, Mr. Macaulay, turning round in an indignant manner to those who interrupted him, said, "Am I not speaking to the question? (Cries of 'No, no,' and 'Yes, yes.') What is the charge that has been made against me this day except this? (Interruption and confusion, which prevailed for some time.) Are the qualities which should recommend a man to the favour of the Executive Govern-

ment distinct from those which should recommend him to the favour of his constituents? And when I hear it made a reproach to this great city, that it has been misrepresented by my Lord Jeffrey—(hear, hear),—by my Lord Dunfermline, by my Lord Campbell—(Confusion.) When I hear it made a reproach to you, and held up to you as a disgrace that the men upon whom your choice has fallen should have been the men whom the Sovereign, by the approbation of the representative body of the nation, has repeatedly called to stations of the highest trust, then I say that those who would so instruct and teach us this destructive doctrine——. (Hisses and uproar prevented the right hon. gentleman from finishing the sentence.) I believe you will admit this, that if your representative be an honest man—(A cry of 'He is not')—his power to serve you as a Minister of the Crown is greater than his power as a private Member of Parliament. I believe that you will admit, that if he be not an honest man, in or out of office, he is certain to betray you. (Hear, hear, and cries of 'You have done so.') Don't imagine it is only one in office who is under corrupt influence. If you send mercenary men to Parliament—(great hissing, which continued for some time),—while I say this, I at the same time beg to state, that I fully believe I throw no imputation upon my opponents,—if you send mercenary men to Parliament, in office or out of office, for some price and to some customer, they will manage to sell themselves and to sell you. (Cheers and hisses, and a cry of 'It's time you were done.') I firmly believe that the honourable gentlemen who stand on the other side of the sheriff are as incapable of so betraying a trust reposed in them as I myself am. But I am certain that they are not more so; and this I will say, that if it be your pleasure to send, for

example, Mr. Blackburn, instead of myself, to the House of Commons, if he should, as in that case I heartily hope he may, prove himself deserving every way of your confidence, if he should in public life show considerable talent for debate and for business—if he should obtain the ear of Parliament—if he should obtain the confidence of the whole Parliament, on account of the ability with which he discusses, and the clearness with which he explains difficult questions—and if in consequence of a revolution in public affairs, those with whom he is more nearly connected in opinion should come into power, they should say to him, 'We think your abilities are such that you may be of use to the State as Secretary of War, or as President of the Board of Trade'—(laughter, cries of 'Oh, oh,' and some confusion)—if, I say, that should happen, then I should consider it as the most monstrous injustice to say that because he has so signally vindicated your choice—because the Ministry which must be supported by the great body of the representatives of the empire conceived him to be a man who might be useful to his country in high places, you should therefore withdraw the trust which you had placed in him.—(Cheers, and cries of 'Oh, oh.') I have done. I am, perhaps, addressing you for the last time. (Cries of 'So much the better,' and 'No, no'—'Yes, yes.') Allow me some indulgence. Some indulgence is shown to the last speeches of convicted criminals. (Laughter.) I have, therefore, only to say that to your decision, whatever it may be, I shall submit respectfully—(a voice, 'You cannot help it')—and without repining; that I shall retain a grateful sense of your past kindness; and that my only wish is this, that your decision may be one which, when the irritation of the moment has passed away, and when

you calmly review the whole history of the relation which existed between us, you may conscientiously approve of—(Cheers and loud hisses)— . . . . . ”

By this time the symptoms of affairs began to be alarming. It had nearly been seriously apprehended that the great commoner, whose noble writings possessed a European fame, whose lofty eloquence charmed all hearts, would really be thrown out by a local tradesman. And at a very early stage of the poll it became evident that Mr. Macaulay's opponents were united and triumphant, while his friends were disorganised and dispirited. At first he took a good position on the poll, but he soon fell to the third place. It was hoped that in an hour or two a different result would be shown, but each hour the aspect of things grew darker. So early as twelve o'clock it was clear that the fight was lost. At four o'clock the numbers stood thus:—

Mr. Cowan	2063
Mr. Craig	1854
Mr. Macaulay	1477
Mr. Blackburn	980

Mr. Macaulay did not attend the declaration of the poll.

The Times correspondent says, “The result was brought about by a heterogeneous combination of parties, including the bulk of the old Dissenters and Free Churchmen, the Radicals, the Tories, and the Excise Traders, whose bond of union was not so much superior admiration of any other candidate as a determination to get rid of Mr. Macaulay by whatever means. One very general objection entertained to the latter gentleman was that he was haughty and contemptuous in his bearing towards the electors, and had no sympathy with their local in-

terests and feelings. The Voluntaries, who are a numerous and powerful body, felt that he had not been in the habit of paying sufficient deference to their views and opinions, while they as well as the Free Churchmen, and many of the Tories, were jealous of his intentions as regards the endowment of the Roman Catholics. The Excise traders also, who are understood to have commanded about 400 or 500 votes alone, and who had been acting of late with singular vigour and determination, thought that neither Mr. Craig, nor he, was inclined to go far enough in their service. They thought it would be a close run, and they were astonished at their own success. The Catholics voted for him in a body. There was great excitement at all the polling booths."

Mr. Macaulay issued the following address to the electors:—

"LONDON, *August 2nd*, 1847.

"GENTLEMEN,—You have been pleased to dismiss me from your service, and I submit to your pleasure without repining. The generous conduct of those who gave me their support, I shall always remember with gratitude. If anything has occurred of which I might justly complain, I have forgiven, and shall soon forget it. The points on which we have differed I leave with confidence to the judgment of my country. I cannot expect that you will at present admit my views to be correct; but the time will come when you will calmly review the history of my connection with Edinburgh. You will then, I am convinced, acknowledge that if I incurred your displeasure, I incurred it by remaining faithful to the general interests of the empire, and to the fundamental principles of the Constitution. I shall always be proud to think that I once enjoyed your favour, but permit me

to say, I shall remember, not less proudly, how I risked and how I lost it. With every wish for the peace and prosperity of your city, I have the honour to be, gentlemen, your faithful servant,

"T. B. MACAULAY."

There remains a most interesting memento of that day, namely, an autobiographical sketch, from which we quoted at the commencement of the work. The following stanzas have allusions both to Edinburgh and India.

Lines written in August, 1847.

"The day of tumult, strife, defeat, was o'er;
Worn out with toil, with noise, and scorn, and spleen,
I slumber'd, and in slumber saw once more
A room in an old mansion, long unseen."

He then tells how his kind genius reassured him.

"Thine, when around thy litter's track all day
White sandhills shall reflect the blinding glare;
Thine, when through forests breathing death, thy way
All night shall wind by many a tiger's lair;

"Thine most when friends turn pale, when traitors fly,
When, hard beset, thy spirit, justly proud,
For truth, peace, freedom, mercy, dares defy
A sullen priesthood and a raving crowd.

"Amidst the din of all things fell and vile,
Hate's yell, and envy's hiss, and folly's bray,
Remember me; and with an unforced smile
See riches, baubles, flatterers, pass away.

"Yes: they will pass away; nor deem it strange:
They come and go, as comes and goes the sea.
And let them come and go: thou through all change
Fix thy firm gaze on virtue and on me."

Every public organ that had a right to speak with authority, every newspaper of any standing, every indivi-

dual of large and enlightened mind, spoke with astonishment and regret of the great misfortune that had befallen the Parliament and the nation in the exclusion of Mr. Macaulay from the Councils of England. It was expected, as a matter of course, that ministerial arrrangments would speedily be made whereby Mr. Macaulay should once more find himself in Parliament. Undoubtedly Lord John Russell would strain every nerve, and would be able to achieve this for his illustrious friend. Undoubtedly almost the first popular constituency where a vacancy might occur would be rejoiced to have the honour of returning him. But Mr. Macaulay considered himself *jam rude donatus*. Parliament meant a great deal to him; office, power, a very large income, for an indefinite series of years. But he had stood in such an honourable and remarkable position as member for Edinburgh, that he would not after the fashion of an ordinary Cabinet Minister be glad to take refuge in an ordinary borough. That position was to be still more unique and honourable when repentant but stultified Edinburgh wooed him back in most suppliant mood.

Few statesmen, in an enforced retirement, have been consoled with such consolations as were his. Two years later the University of Glasgow elected him Lord Rector. This is a very unique and remarkable distinction. The students, a body of about a thousand young men of all ages, from fifteen to thirty, possess the privilege of electing their own Lord Rector. This privilege they have so worthily exercised, that few, save truly illstrious names, are to be found upon the roll of Lord Rectors; and most eminent men have avowed that they have looked upon this distinction as an object of worthy though perhaps unattainable ambition. Mr. Macaulay was elected Lord

Rector by a large majority of the students. When he came down in March, 1849, to deliver his inaugural address, the excitement and the desire to hear him was intense. Ten pounds, I have been informed, was offered for the privilege of a seat to hear him. The speech is to the last degree admirable. He afterwards proceeded to visit the stately Exchange, and the magnificent Athenæum; and to the immense gratification of the authorities he wrote down his name on the books. Crowds admiringly followed him wherever he went, eager to hear his voice, to catch a glimpse of his face, even to see his handwriting. Those who had the good fortune to meet him at breakfast or dinner during his brief stay, circulated marvellous stories respecting the wonders of his memory, and the brilliancy of his conversation.

The good people of Glasgow were determined to shame their brethren of the burgh of Edinburgh. It was resolved to present Mr. Macaulay with the freedom of the City. The Glasgow City Hall is a noble structure, capable of containing, with ease, three thousand persons. When it is really a grand demonstration day, when the very best of the men and women of Glasgow gather together in their noble hall for some special purpose, the effect is in the highest degree grand and striking. Before such an assembly, then, was Mr. Macaulay summoned to receive the freedom of the City. An address was presented to him, written a little in that turgid style for which civic addresses are remarkable; but, nevertheless, unmistakeably expressing through the cloud of words the hearty joy they felt in seeing him, and how much they felt that they were doing honour to their city in conferring honour upon him. Mr. Macaulay would not fail to recollect that when Sir Robert Peel was elected Lord Rector, a similar

distinction was conferred upon him; and Sir Robert's speech at that time was a manifesto which produced its effect in every part of the kingdom.

The Glasgow daily paper says:—"The box containing the deed conveying the freedom of the City to Mr. Macaulay was placed on the table before the Lord Provost. It is an exquisite specimen of taste and skill combined. It is composed of silver, electro-gilt, and the embossing on the lid, with the arms and heraldic motto of the City, thrown out in burnished bas-relief, is extremely rich, and at the same time most chaste. The box was manufactured by Mr. James Muirhead, Goldsmith, Buchanan Street. It is about 7 inches in length, 5 inches in breadth, and 3 and a quarter in depth; and is one of the handsomest articles of the kind we ever witnessed. In addition to the box for holding the parchment scroll conveying the freedom of the town, there is also a neat little circular box, of solid gold, for the purpose of holding the seal.

"Mr. Macaulay then rose, amid the waving of hats and handkerchiefs by the vast assembly. The cheering having subsided, he went on to say: 'I thank you, my lord and gentlemen, I thank you, from my heart, for this great honour. I may, I hope, extend those thanks further; I may extend them to that constituent body of which, I believe, you are on this occasion the expositor, and which has received me here in a manner which has made an impression never to be effaced from my mind. (Cheers.) This box, my lord, I shall prize as long as I live, and it will when I am gone—(here the honourable gentleman's voice faltered with deep emotion)—be prized by those who are dearest to me, as a proof that in an active and chequered life, political and literary, I succeeded in gaining

the esteem and goodwill of one of the greatest and most enlightened cities in the British empire. (Cheers.) My political life, my lord, has closed. The feelings which contention and rivalry naturally call forth, and from which I do not pretend to have been exempted, have had time to cool down. I look now on the events in which I bore a part as calmly, I think, as on the events of the past century. I can do that justice now to honourable opponents which perhaps in moments of conflict I have sometimes refused to them. I believe I can judge as impartially of my own career as that of another man. I acknowledge great errors and deficiency; but I have nothing to acknowledge which is inconsistent with rectitude of intention and independence of spirit. (Cheers.) My conscience bears me this testimony: that I honestly desired the happiness and greatness of my country; that my course, right or wrong, was never determined by any selfish or sordid motive; and that in troubled times, and through many vicissitudes of fortune, in power and out of power, through popularity and unpopularity, I was faithful to one set of friends and one set of opinions. I see no reason to doubt that these friends were well chosen, or that these opinions were, in the main, correct.' "

Years passed by, and the citizens of Edinburgh became heartily ashamed of their conduct. The best people of Edinburgh began to think it was high time to wipe away, if it were possible, this great reproach from Edinburgh. It was out of the question that Mr. Macaulay would ever again offer himself as a candidate; but it was possible that if elected he would consent to serve. Even this point remained in some doubt. It was only a few days before the nomination that he announced his willingness to accept the place of their representative, if elected. As soon as it

was fully understood that Mr. Macaulay was really to be placed in nomination, there was not a doubt that he would be elected, and brought in at the head of the poll. All parties confessed that the scramble among the different candidates would be for the second place. Even the *Witness*, which had been clamorous against him on former occasions, did not venture to say a word, and adopted an apologetic tone. Still, by some persons the old grievance was harped upon with unbecoming persistence. The following is a letter sent to Mr. Macaulay, with his answer thereto :—

"*To the Right Honourable Thomas Babington Macaulay.*

"SIR,—I am directed by the Committee of the Scottish Reformation Society, many of whom are electors of the city of Edinburgh, to transmit to you a copy of resolutions adopted at the annual public meeting of the society, held in December last; and respectfully to inquire, whether, in the event of your being returned to Parliament, you are prepared to support a bill for the repeal of the Act authorising the annual grant to the College of Maynooth, and also to vote against any farther grant to that institution. I am further instructed to request the honour of an early reply to this communication.

"I have the honour to be, &c.,

(Signed) "GEO. LYON, *Secretary.*"

The reply was as follows :—

To the Secretary of the Scottish Reformation Society,
6, York Place, Edinburgh.

"ALBANY, LONDON, *June* 23, 1852.

"SIR,—I must beg to be excused from answering the questions which you have put to me. I have a great

respect for the gentlemen in whose name you write, but I have nothing to ask of them; I am not a candidate for their suffrages; I have no desire to sit again in Parliament, and I certainly shall never again sit there, except in an event which I did not till very lately contemplate as possible, and which even now seems to me highly improbable. If, indeed, the electors of such a city as Edinburgh should, without requiring from me any explanation or any guarantee, think fit to confide their interests to my care, I should not feel myself justified in refusing to accept a public trust offered to me in a manner so honourable and so peculiar. I have not, I am sensible, the smallest right to expect that I shall on such terms be chosen to represent a great constituent body; but I have a right to say that on no other terms can I be induced to leave that quiet and happy retirement in which I have passed the last four years.

"I have the honour to be, &c.

"(Signed) T. B. Macaulay."

His feeling on the subject is also expressed in a published letter to Mr. Black, a sentence or two of which we quote. He is alluding to the ill-natured use that was sought to be made of his conduct and language. "I say that to be elected member for Edinburgh without appearing as a candidate would be a high and peculiar honour—an honour which would induce me to make a sacrifice such as I would make in no other case; and I am told that this is to treat the electors contemptuously. My language, naturally construed, was respectful—nay, humble. If any person finds an insult in it, the reason must be that he is determined to find an insult in everything that I write. My feeling towards the people of Edinburgh is

the very opposite of unkind or contemptuous. . . . I give the best proof of my regard for them by consenting to return to public life at their invitation, after repeatedly refusing to do so when invited on the most honourable and liberal terms by others; nor shall I cease to wish well to your fellow-citizens, or to think highly of their general character, even though they should be again estranged from me by misrepresentations such as you describe." One of these repeated misrepresentations occurred at this time, when it was intimated to him that he could be returned for the borough of Finsbury quite free from expense. The nomination, poll, and official statement of the result in due course came on, and, as on former occasions, the proceedings were disturbed by an excited and unruly mob. As was universally expected in Edinburgh, Mr. Macaulay's name came first.* Various reports were spread about at the time concerning him. According to some, it had been arranged that he should stay in the neighbourhood of the city, and come forward to the hustings to address the people in the case of his election. Contrary to this expectation, he did not come down to Edinburgh at all. It was confidently expected that he would travel down to Edinburgh all through the night, in order to make a speech on the declaration of the poll. In this hope the people were disappointed. It was said that his friends did not choose that their great and renowned member should be exposed to the almost certain chance of insult from the ribald mob. It was seen, how-

* The numbers were—

Macaulay	1846
Cowan	1753
M'Laren	1561
Bruce	1068
Campbell	625

ever, that another and unhappily a more powerful reason was the cause of his non-appearance. His health was very infirm, very different to what it once had been; he was afflicted, we believe, with bronchitis, coupled with a heart affection. He issued an invitation to the electors, requesting them to meet him in a few days' time. It was found, however, that the state of his health would not allow this, and the occasion was postponed. Anxiety was excited by a rumour that suddenly prevailed of his death, the origin of which, however, could not be ascertained.

All over the country the news of his election was received with a burst of joy. Men congratulated each other as if some dear friend or relation of their own had received so signal an honour. People who had never seen his face shook hands with one another in an unreasoning way on the receipt of such glorious news.

"*To the Electors of Edinburgh.*

"LONDON, *July* 14, 1852.

"GENTLEMEN,—At a late hour yesterday evening I learned that I was once more your representative. I am truly sorry that it is impossible for me to appear before you to-day in the High Street, and to give utterance to some part of the feelings with which I accept from you a trust, honourable in itself, and made doubly honourable by the peculiar manner in which it has been offered to me.

"On as early a day as my health will permit, I shall have an opportunity of explaining to you the general view which I take of public affairs. But on this day, the day on which my old connection with you is, after an interruption of five years, to be solemnly renewed, I will avoid every subject which can excite dissention; and I will only

assure you that I am proud of your confidence, that I am grateful for your kindness, and that the peace, the prosperity, and the renown of your noble city will ever be to me objects of affectionate solicitude.

"I have the honour to be, gentlemen, your faithful servant, "T. B. MACAULAY."

On the second of November he met the electors in the Music Hall. The anxiety to hear him was so intense that the large hall was completely crammed, and would doubtless have been equally crammed if it had been twice or three times as large. It was necessary to admit the auditors an hour before the time when Mr. Macaulay could be expected to address the meeting. The supporters of Mr. Macaulay and their friends were admitted an hour earlier, not to pack a meeting, but as a mark of attention which was their strict due. The scene that ensued is almost indescribable. There must have been very few, and those not to be envied, who could refrain from some emotion at the triumphant meeting after so deep an estrangement and so long a separation. By the heartiness of their greeting was manifested the desire of the people of Edinburgh to efface all that was unhappy in the recollections of the past. Mr. Macaulay himself, who with a brave heart and in brave language had stoutly faced their hostility, was quite unmanned by their kindness, and traces of strong and unconquerable emotion were for a brief time visible. It was noticed with regret and alarm that while his noble mind retained all its vigour, he was not physically the man that he used to be, and that at the very moment of his triumph he was the victim of severe and perhaps irremediable disease. Thus it was he began:—

"GENTLEMEN,—I thank you from my heart for this kind reception. In truth, it has almost overcome me. Your good opinion and your good will were always very valuable to me, far more valuable than any vulgar object of ambition; far more valuable than any office, however lucrative or dignified. In truth, no office, however lucrative or dignified, would have tempted me to do what I have done at your summons, to leave again the happiest and most tranquil of all retreats for the bustle of political life. But the honour which you have conferred upon me, an honour of which the greatest men might well be proud, an honour which it is in the power only of a free people to bestow, has laid on me such an obligation that I should have thought it ingratitude, I should have thought it pusillanimity, not to make at least an effort to serve you.

"And here, Gentlemen, we meet again in kindness after a long separation. It is more than five years since I last stood in this very place; a large part of human life. There are few of us on whom those five years have not set their mark, few circles from which those five years have not taken away what can never be replaced. Even in this multitude of friendly faces I look in vain for some which would on this day have been lighted up with joy and kindness. I miss one venerable man, who, before I was born, in evil times, in times of oppression and corruption, had adhered, with almost solitary fidelity, to the cause of freedom, and whom I knew in advanced age, but still in the full vigour of mind and body, enjoying the respect and gratitude of his fellow-citizens. I should, indeed, be most ungrateful if I could, on this day, forget Sir James Craig, his public spirit, his judicious counsel, his fatherly kindness to myself. And Jeffrey—with what an effusion of generous affection he would, on this day, have wel-

comed me back to Edinburgh! He, too, is gone; but the remembrance of him is one of the many ties which bind me to the city once dear to his heart, and still inseparably associated with his fame."

It was with deep emotion that he spoke of Jeffrey. He then proceeded to speak of the gaps which time had made in the two Houses of Parliament. The oracle of the House of Lords was gone, the great Duke; and the oracle of the House of Commons, Sir Robert Peel. He spoke of their old conflicts, of Sir Robert's last days and his best, and of the happiness in reflecting upon the proofs of kindness which he had received from him only a few days before his death. He then proceeded to review the present state of political parties; and here the inveterate habits of the confirmed politician at once came into play. The grand historic style was at once abandoned for acute recrimination and the old party zeal. He gave the Derbyite party distinctly to understand that it was little mercy which they might expect to receive from him. He charged them with inconsistency. He made his hearers merry about Lord Maidstone's Free Trade hexameters; he ridiculed the Conservative schemes about the suffrage. He had intended to touch upon a variety of other topics, but his strength was exhausted; he was obliged to draw his remarks to an abrupt conclusion, thanking them from the bottom of his heart for the kindness with which he had been received.

Mr. Macaulay was now once more in Parliament, and the course he would there adopt became a subject of vivid and general interest. His moral weight in the House would be very great. No other constituency, so highly important, was represented on so honourable a tenure. It was well known that he was superior to all temptations of

place and power. He possessed a reputation remarkable even among English statesmen for its unsullied brilliancy. People wondered upon what great occasion they might expect a great oration. It so happened that he first spoke on an occasion and at a time when it had not been at all expected. And yet it would not have been so difficult to guess that he would have spoken on the occasion that he did. A question of some constitutional importance was at stake. It was an occasion on which, as a renowned constitutional writer, he might be expected to speak. Lord Hotham had brought in a bill which would have the effect of taking away from the Master of the Rolls the power of sitting, if elected, in parliament. The Bill had reached the stage of the third reading, and there appeared to be very little doubt as to its passing. But if before Macaulay's speech the success of the Bill was undoubted, this success became a simple impossibility after he had spoken. His single voice at once determined its fate. Lord Hotham in vain attempted to stem the tide; and the very attempt must have taxed all his manliness. The debate came off on a Wednesday, in a thin House, and on a question which had attracted very little general attention. But the news rapidly spread that he was speaking. The House gradually became quite full: the attention was breathless, the applause unbounded, the effect decided. The following is a graphic description of the scene, taken from a defunct paper, *The Leader*, written, I am told, by the late Mr. Whitty, who possessed a considerable reputation for abilities in this kind of sketch:—

"It was pleasanter talking on Wednesday, when the position of Mr. Macaulay in Great Britain was measured in a great way. On a Wednesday the House and the Committees are sitting at once, and the building is filled

with scattered M.P.'s, some at work, many looking at those at work, but most loitering about the lobbies and corridors picking up old acquaintance, and feeling for public opinion. About three on Wednesday one was loitering about, too; for the talk in the House was not interesting—on a Wednesday it seldom is—and one could pick up members' opinion, which is as important as public opinion. You were walking along the Committee lobby, wondering which 'room' you would take next, when, as you paused uncertain, you were bumped up against by somebody. He begged your pardon, and rushed on, and you looked to see who it was; a member, a stout member; a man you couldn't conceive in a run; and yet he's running like mad. You are still staring at him, when two more men trot past you, one on each side, and they are members, too. You are very puzzled, and see the door close to you—'Members' Entrance,' above it—dashed open, five members dash from it, and plunge furiously down the lobby. Why, what can be the matter? More doors open, more members rush out; members are tearing past you from all points in one direction towards the House. Then wigs and gowns appear. They tell you, with happy faces, their Committees have adjourned; and then come a third class, the gentlemen of the press, hilarious. Why, what's the matter? Matter! Macaulay is up, and all the members are off to hear him. You join the runners in a moment, and are in the gallery to see the senators who had the start of you perspiring into their places. It was an announcement one hadn't heard for years; and the passing the word 'Macaulay's up,' emptied Committee rooms. Now, as of old, it emptied clubs. It was true; he was up, and in for a long speech; not a mere spurt, but an oration. He was in a new place,

standing in the second row (above the Treasury Bench) from the table, and looking and sounding all the better for the elevation and the clearer atmosphere for orators, which must be found in that little remove from the green boxes. The old voice, the old manners, and the old style—glorious speaking! Well prepared, carefully elaborated, confessedly essayish; but spoken with perfect art and consummate management, not up-and-down see-saw talking off a speech, but the grand conversation of a man of the world, confiding his learning, his recollections, and his logic to a party of gentlemen, and just raising his voice enough to be heard through the room. That is as you heard him when you got in; but then he was only opening, and waiting for his audience. As the House filled, which it did with marvellous rapidity, he got prouder and more oratorical; and then he poured out his speech with rapidity, increasing after every sentence, till it became a torrent of the richest words, carrying his hearers with him into enthusiasm (yes, for dry as the subject was, he gave it grandeur by looking at it from the grand and historical point of view), and yet not leaving them time to cheer. A torrent of words—that is the only description of Macaulay's style when he has warmed into speed. And such words. Why it wasn't four o'clock in the afternoon, lunch hardly digested, and yet the quiet, reserved English gentlemen collected there to hear the celebrated orator were as wild with delight as an Opera house after Grisi at ten. You doubt it? See the division; and before Mr. Macaulay had spoken you might have safely have bet fifty to one that Lord Hotham would have carried his Bill. After that speech the Bill was not thrown, but pitched out. Speeches seldom do affect measures; and yet this speech will have altered British

policy on a great question; and don't forget, that on a Wednesday, in a day sitting! People said when it was over that it was superb, and so on; and one began to have a higher opinion of the House of Commons, though it is queerly 'led,' seeing that if the Macaulay class of minds would bid for leadership they would get it; and that perhaps the Lord Johns only get it at present by a sort of moral justice because they work for it. But it wasn't all congratulation. Mr. Macaulay had rushed through his oration of forty minutes with masterly vigour; and looking at his massive chest and enormous head you couldn't be surprised. That is the sort of man who would go through whatever he undertook. Yet the doubts about his health, which arise when we meet him in the street (he never meets anybody)—when you take advantage of his sphinx-like reverie,

'Staring right on with calm, eternal eyes,'

to study the sickly face—would be confirmed by a close inspection on Wednesday. The great orator was trembling when he sat down; the excitement of a triumph—the massive head notwithstanding—overcame him; and he had scarcely the self-possession to acknowledge the eager praises which were offered by the Ministers and others in his neighbourhood. Evidently he had reasons for being as quiet as Gibbon was in the House; and in this case, too, no doubt, we must think enough will have been done for fame and for our pleasure if the history is finished."

The subject was one on which he could speak with an air of authority. That he told the House that it was scarcely creditable to it that a Bill for which so little could be said, and against which so much could be said, should

be allowed to reach its present stage. He recommended that there should be a still larger infusion of Judges in the House. He concluded thus:—

"But whether the more extended change which I recommend shall be adopted or not, I can see no reason whatever for entertaining the Bill of the noble lord. I ask the Conservatives on that side of the House, whether they are prepared to make a change in the law which has lasted for twenty generations, and from which they cannot themselves say that the smallest inconvenience has arisen. I address myself to the Liberal members of the House. I would ask them whether they think it right to lower the character and diminish the efficiency of that branch of the Legislature which springs from the people. And, sir, uniting in myself the character of Liberal and Conservative, I do in both characters give my vote most cordially for the amendment of my honourable friend."

On this memorable occasion Mr. Macaulay called himself a Conservative. It was an expression which the Conservatives did not fail to criticise. It was rather late in the day, they said, for so inveterate a Whig to arrogate for himself any part or lot in the Conservative section of the country. Let Mr. Macaulay be consistent, and adhere to the orange colour till the last. I confess this is not my feeling. It is with peculiar pleasure that I dwell upon this expression. It is to me a sign that he was beginning to feel that it was something higher and better to be the favourite of England than to be the favourite of the Whigs. He was beginning to emancipate himself from the powerful and natural ties of parties, friendship, gratitude, and sympathy, and to seek rather for the abstract truth and justice. Henceforth the administrations of Peel and Palmerston would be to him as

historic as those of Pitt and Pelham. Henceforth he would administer pure and unperverted justice to all the great men who should be called before the historic bar.

He spoke again the same session on India: this also being a subject on which he was peculiarly entitled to speak. He spoke with all his old liberal feelings towards the Hindoos:—

"I am at a loss to understand how, while utterly contemning education when it is given to Europeans, we should regard it with dread when it is given to natives. This training, we are told, when given to a European, makes him a bookworm, a twaddler, unfit for active life; but give the same education to the Hindoo, and he is to acquire such an accession of intellect, that an established government, 50,000 soldiers, and the whole army and navy of England are to go down before its irresistible power. I do not pretend to explain how the knowledge which is power in one race can be absolutely impotent in another; but I can only say for myself, with regard to this question, that, in my opinion, we shall not secure or prolong our dominion in India by attempting to exclude the natives of that country from a share in its government, or by attempting to discourage their study of western learning; and I will only say further, that however that may be, I will never consent to keep them ignorant in order to keep them manageable, or to govern them in ignorance in order to govern them long."

These were noble words, and they were the last words which he would ever speak in the British House of Commons. The state of his health was such, that he was now convinced that he could never more take an efficient part in the House. His strength was inadequate for late hours and long speeches. And at the time that

he could not attend the House, he wrote to Mr. Black: "The feeling that I ought not to be in the House of Commons preys upon my mind. I think that I am acting ungenerously and ungratefully to a constituent body which has been most indulgent to me." He felt convinced that his public life was over. Owing to many urgent solicitations, he continued to attend a little longer than had been his wish; but at length he forbore all further attempts to do so, and severed his connection with Edinburgh by the following letter:—

"*To the Electors of Edinburgh.*

"GENTLEMEN.—Very soon after you had done me the high honour of choosing me, without any solicitation on my part, to represent you in the present Parliament, I began to entertain apprehensions that the state of my health would make it impossible for me to repay your kindness by efficient service. During some time I flattered myself with the hope that I might be able to be present at important divisions, and occasionally to take part in important debates. But the experience of the last two years has convinced me that I cannot reasonably expect to be ever again capable of performing, even in an imperfect manner, those duties which the public has a right to expect from every member of the House of Commons.

"You meanwhile have borne with me in a manner which entitles you to my warmest gratitude. Had even a small number of my constituents hinted to me a wish that I would vacate my seat, I should have thought it my duty to comply with that wish. But from not one single elector have I ever received a line of reproach or com-

plaint. If I were disposed to abuse your generosity and delicacy, I might perhaps continue to bear the honourable title of member for Edinburgh till the dissolution of the Parliament; but I feel that by trespassing longer on your indulgence I should prove myself unworthy of it. I have therefore determined to dissolve our connection, and to put it in your power to choose a better servant than I have been.

"I have applied to the Chancellor of the Exchequer for the Stewardship of the Chiltern Hundreds; and I have every reason to believe that the new writ will issue on the first day of the approaching session. This notice will, I trust, be long enough to enable you to make a thoroughly satisfactory choice.

"And now, my friends, with sincere thanks for all your kindness, and with fervent wishes for the peace, honour, and prosperity of your noble city, I for the last time bid you farewell.

"T. B. MACAULAY."

"London, January 19, 1856."

Here, a little in advance of chronological order, we may fittingly glance at Macaulay's final public appearance in that town where he had achieved his first youthful oratoracal triumphs. In doing so, we have to recognise him in the enjoyment of a dignity for his elevation to which we have not yet historically accounted. We may project ourselves into something like the feeling in reference to Lord Macaulay, which Tennyson has so exquisitely expressed with regard to the lamented Arthur Hallam.

I past beside the reverend walls,
In which of old I wore the gown;
I rovèd at random through the town,
And saw the tumult of the halls.

And heard once more in college fanes
The storm their high-built organs make,
And thunder-music, rolling, shake
The prophets blazoned on the panes.

* * * *

Where once we held debate, a band
Of youthful friends, on mind and art,
And labour, and the changing mart,
And all the framework of the land;

When one would aim an arrow fair,
But send it slackly from the string;
And one would pierce an outer ring,
And one an inner, here and there;

And last the master-bowman, he
Would cleave the mark. A willing ear
We lent him. Who, but hung to hear
The rapt oration flowing free

From point to point, with power and grace,
And music in the bounds of law,
To those conclusions when we saw
The God within him light his face.

By the demise of Earl Fitzwilliam in October, 1857, the High Stewardship of the Borough of Cambridge was rendered vacant; and was offered, by the unanimous vote of the Town Council, to Lord Macaulay. He accepted; and his appointment to the office was signalised by the approbation alike of his political friends and foes, on the broad and liberal ground of his commanding literary eminence.

In the presence of a crowded and enthusiastic meeting, convened on the 11th May, 1858, after the oaths had been duly administered, the Mayor presented the patent of Lord Macaulay's appointment, engrossed on vellum, illuminated, signed with the corporate seal, and bound in red morocco, and said—

"My Lord,—On behalf of myself and the Corporation,

I beg to congratulate both you and ourselves on your appointment as High Steward of this Borough. I congratulate you upon having to succeed men whose names are illustrious in history; and ourselves, because I consider it an honour to the Borough to have so distinguished a nobleman as yourself as its officer. (Cheers.)"

Lord Macaulay, who was evidently suffering from ill-health, and whose voice was scarcely audible, then replied in the following terms:—

"It is in but few words, Mr. Mayor and Gentlemen, that I can address you at present. My health will enable me to speak but few sentences here or elsewhere; and as I am told it will be necessary for me to say something in another place, I shall reserve my strength for that occasion. I will at present only beg you to believe that I accept with the greatest gratitude and respect this mark of kindness bestowed upon me by so large and respectable a body of my countrymen, and I assure you that I shall always wish earnestly the prosperity and peace of the town of Cambridge. (Loud applause.)"

The formal proceedings were thus terminated, and the Members of the Council with Lord Macaulay adjourned to the Assembly Room.

At the banquet which celebrated the Inauguration, after the usual loyal toasts had been honoured, the Mayor, in a speech of heartiness and eulogy, proposed "The Health of the High Steward of the Borough."

This having been received with continued applause, Lord Macaulay, amidst renewed cheers, rose to reply. He said—

"Mr. Mayor—It is not easy to return an answer to so graceful, but at the same time I must say so unmerited, an eulogium as that which your kindness has led you to

pronounce upon me. I thank you cordially; I thank also the gentlemen present for the feelings they have evinced towards me. To some here present I have reason for especial gratitude; I have to thank some gentlemen present for having conferred upon me that distinguished office into which I was this morning installed. I assure you I feel it a great honour which you have conferred upon me. I doubt whether there has been any municipal situation in this country that has ever been held by such a succession of celebrated men as the office of High Steward of your Borough — men eminently great in politics, distinguished in arms, intelligence, and merit. It is no false modesty on my part to say, that I feel that my name is unworthy to be classed in the same list with them; yet I most cordially thank you for having placed it there. It cannot be otherwise than very gratifying to a public man, whose life has been passed in the varied changes and disruptions of political strife, whose fate it has often been to be misunderstood, and frequently calumniated, though his conscience still tells him that he has never stooped to seek popularity by unworthy acts, or flatter the nation which it was his duty to serve uprightly—it is gratifying, I say, to find that he carries with him into retirement the esteem and good will of large and respectable bodies of his countrymen to whom he was personally unknown. You will not believe this the less, or regard my thanks as the less sincere, because uttered in very few words; there was a time when I could have commanded a hearing in much larger and stormier assemblies—(cheers)—but that time is passed; and I feel that if I can now do anything to serve my country, it will be best done in the quiet retirement of my own library. It is now five years since I raised my voice in public, and

it is not likely—unless there be some special call of duty —that I shall ever raise it in public again. I trust, however, that you will believe that, if these are the last words I shall ever utter in public, I intend them to express that I shall ever retain a grateful recollection of your kindness, and my earnest wish that the town of Cambridge may flourish peaceful and prosperous, and in a spirit of unanimity with that noble University which I must ever regard with filial gratitude and love."

Lord Macaulay sat down amid deafening applause.

CHAPTER XI.

LORD MACAULAY OF ROTHLEY.

In 1857 the dignity of the peerage was, by the Queen's permission, offered by Lord Palmerston to Mr. Macaulay. Such a contingency had been unexpected by himself and also by the public. With his usual good sense, Mr. Macaulay at once decided upon accepting the proffered honour. Although an advanced Liberal in his views, he was not of the number of those who habitually sneer at the peerage as an institution, at the same time that it is the secret and eager object of their ambition. Neither directly nor indirectly had he sought the honour. It must have been felt that if the peerage was some honour to him he was a still greater honour to the peerage. It was the highest social distinction ever yet accorded to a literary man, and literary men were highly pleased with it. Mr. Macaulay would, at any rate, be safe from all further fluctuations of the *aura popularis*. A seat in the legislature would be assured to him for life, independent of all changes, and those in his health were the most to be feared. It was to be hoped that in the long mellow sunset of his days he might give to expectant England volume after volume of his national work, and that he might, from time to time, take part in the lighter labours and debates of the House of Lords; that he might help to guide our country by his wisdom and experience, and

adorn our literature, as heretofore, by his speeches and his writings. It would have been with great and peculiar pleasure that men would have followed their old favourite in an illustrious career in the House of Lords. But however legitimate and pleasant these speculations might be, they were doomed to disappointment.

In the Upper House he never spoke in debates. Once or twice he intended to do so, but from circumstances he never did. With his election to the peerage, and his appointment, nearly at the same time, to the office of High Steward of the town of Cambridge, the career of Lord Macaulay as a public man ends. At this point our survey of his career should properly terminate, but we would desire to add a review, necessarily brief and imperfect, of that public life which we have been considering.

We first turn to his Parliamentary career. Of the remarkable consistency, integrity, and independence which he exhibited, without a single deviation, we have already spoken, and it would be difficult to speak too highly. The merit of political consistency may, however, be probably overrated. Few public men have passed through a long Parliamentary career without having much to retract and something to repent. But Lord Macaulay's words of retractation or repentance are very few and very light. Even if he had done so his disposition was such that he would most probably have repented his repentance and have retracted his retractations.

If his consistency had been exhibited in a consistent adherence to politics as the business of his life, there is no altitude to which he might not have attained. At the time of the Reform Bill he aroused a wonderful enthusiasm in his favour both within and out of the House, and he appeared not at all unlikely to become one of the

popular leaders. In his departure for India was virtually involved the resignation of his claim as a political chief. He completely abdicated any chance he possessed—and at this time it appears not to have been an inconsiderable one—of becoming Prime Minister. His Parliamentary career of four years had been fruitful of such great successes and brilliant with such splendid hopes, that if he had persevered in this career probably only the very highest advancement would have been the goal of his ambition and his genius. Not Canning nor Peel, not Gladstone nor Disraeli, appear in the early part of their Parliamentary career to have distinguished themselves more highly, to have attracted greater attention, or raised higher expectations. It was certainly a great difficulty in his way, and he probably felt it to be an insuperable one, that he was not one of those statesmen who are endowed with what is called a stake in the country. As representing in a rough, coarse, monetary form that patriotism which it would be difficult precisely to define or accurately attribute to a man, the phrase may have its value and current worth. A difficulty, however, which neither Mr. Canning nor Mr. Disraeli found insuperable might have been conquered by Mr. Macaulay, certainly their inferior neither in character nor abilities. In the hope of removing himself from the necessity of employing either speech or pen for subsistence, the Member for Leeds vacated his position as a popular leader for a seat at the India Council. A French writer, in the new edition of the *Biographie Universelle,* states the case thus—"L'enorme traitement auquel ses nouvelles fonctions lui donnaient droit paraît avoir été le principal motif qui lui fit momentanément abandonner une carrière où il avait conquis une si grande réputation." If he went to India he would at once be

placed in a position which only the luckiest servant of the Company, after ten years' hard service, could hope to occupy. The old tradition of the nabob, which in the modern course of things had become nearly obsolete, would be partially revived in his case. Having gone out comparatively poor, in a few years he might return comparatively rich. His improved position would give him improved advantages for a political career. In seeking, however, the means for the end, it does not appear to have occurred to him that he might lose the end itself. It certainly seems that his Parliamentary reputation after his return from India scarcely corresponded to the reputation which he had acquired previous to his leaving this country. In Calcutta he was left more to the companionship of his books and his thoughts than would have been the case in London. This seems to have determined the doubtful scales, and have given a bias to literature over politics—to have increased his powers as a great writer, and to have diminished his chances as a great orator.

Whether Macaulay is justly entitled to the appellation of a great orator is a question which has been discussed, and generally and justly answered in the affirmative. But whatever praise belongs to him in this direction belongs with especial emphasis to that earlier part of his career. The main objection is that he could not make a reply, and could not at the moment venture on a long address. This argument is by no means final. A great orator is such by means of his great orations, as a great painter is such by reason of his great pictures. A great painter is none the less so if he is unable to fling off a caricature, and declines to make a hasty sketch. And if Mr. Macaulay declined to put a great reputation to the hazard of a sudden speech, and preferred the reputation of a great orator to the repu-

tation of a skilful and adroit debater, he seems to have acted wisely, and to have set an example which it is earnestly to be desired that more of our legislators would seek to follow.

Few take up the volumes of Hansard, or look down the columns of debate; and although these belong to the most momentous epochs of our history, who is there who for the purpose of instruction and delight greatly cares to turn to them, though the most accessible and the most popular of our national archives? There are not many even among cultivated men who are students of our Parliamentary debates. They are chiefly sought for a temporary purpose, to confound a rival statesman, or to blast a political reputation. The speeches which are spoken to a crowded senate, which are spread over a page of the morning papers, which are wafted to the extremities of the empire or of the world, die in their birth, and their first breath is almost their last. To separate a great speech from the concomitant debate, and to study it quietly at a distance from the influences of the time, reminds us of the old imagery of entering a banquet-hall which the banqueters have left, and to find ourselves in the unfamiliar and repellant scene of faded flowers, and silenced music, and vanished forms. The verbiage of debate seems so much glittering tinsel, which is not often relieved by the pure gold of knowledge, or by the gems of thought. It is likely indefinitely to injure the reputation of the English Parliament, that so few of the great efforts it has witnessed have attained to the rank of classic writings.

But Macaulay's speeches were in the best sense orations: they compare not disadvantageously with his published works; they are already classic; and, unless I am mistaken, the course of time will indefinitely increase

their value. Dealing with the events of the hour, they rise above the occasion, and are susceptible of being always studied with advantage, on account of their elements of permanent value. History is philosophy teaching by examples, and we have here the application of the philosophy of history to the passing examples of the times. The speeches are always susceptible of being separated from their context, and of being read with delight, on account of the large general view they take, as well as for their information, eloquence, strength of reasoning, and gorgeous rhetoric. The influence which these speeches possessed over the House at the time of their delivery was very extraordinary. His speech of to-night has been answered a week afterwards, and the speech of one session has even been answered in another. When he had spoken a new turn seemed to be given to the course of the debate. Members fell into the track which he had marked out for them. In very many subsequent speeches there is a vein of allusion to his, either in the way of confirmation or contradiction. Such facts attest the power of his oratory in the house; and out of the house, where speeches are more read and judged upon according to their intrinsic merit, none could be more read and studied than his.

In a sort of vague popular way it has been customary to call him a statesman, but in strict accuracy such a title can hardly have been assigned to him. For a short time only was he a Minister of the Crown, during the Melbourne administration, and for a time still shorter, during the administration of Lord John Russell. In these offices the man of letters was oddly enough concerned with the army as Secretary at War and Paymaster-General of the Forces. He did not do much beyond bringing forward the Estimates, on which occasion the figures of speech were

quite unenlivened by the figures of rhetoric. He did not avail himself of his opportunities as a Minister of the Crown to originate any novel or useful measures. Lord Herbert, who held subsequently the same office, showed himself a great war minister, and indicated how much might be done in this department of the State. No one would for a moment compare Lord Macaulay at the War Office with Lord Herbert at the War Office: such a comparison would hardly fail to elicit a smile. In fact, these high dignities were scarcely more than a titular passport to the Cabinet, or a splendid retaining fee on the side of the Administration. His claims as a statesman must be based upon his career in Parliament and his legislative measures in India. I think it will be found that his mind was quick to perceive and slow to originate; that in Parliament he generally followed in the wake of his party, and in India in the wake of precedent. In no case blindly, but under the informing guidance of a clear judgment and a clear conscience; that his learning, acuteness, and admirable good sense, peculiarly fitted him to sift a question thoroughly, and examine it in all its bearings; that he was safe rather than bold, practical rather than original; that his was not the cast of mind that creates the great minister of a great State, and that intellect so far preponderates beyond any moral faculty as to unfit him to become a leader of men. At least, this is the impression produced by his later Parliamentary career. The *Essays* are the works on which Lord Macaulay's reputation will perhaps ultimately depend. He is the prince of essayists. He is not only in the first class, but he is the very first of the first class. They are the noblest gallery of the kind which any literature contains. It is to be regretted that for nearly twenty years they formed

the staple of his productions, and threw the production of the *magnum opus* so far back. The first volume of the *History* did not appear till his fiftieth year—a late date for a history intended to be spread over many volumes, and to be brought down to a time within the memory of men still living. Each successive *Essay* was a splendid ἐπίδειξις of his abilities for a great work, and increased the regret that a great work should be so long delayed. But in perusing Lord Macaulay's highly-wrought and declamatory page in which a controversial tone is so often adopted, the reader ought to recollect that he is dealing with only one side of the question, that another side remains to be stated; and that we ought to be acquainted with it before we can be sure that our decision is accurate and impartial. In one or two cases Lord Macaulay withdrew or modified the extreme statements prompted by his natural vehemence. Probably, however, this ought to have happened in some further instances. I had wished to discuss several of the *Essays*, but must confine myself to a brief mention of two. The review of Croker's *Boswell* appears to me an unhappy and unjustifiable instance of the introduction of political asperity into the calm regions of literature. It is said that in India the plough might once wend its way between contending armies; and so literature ought to be safe from the assaults of political rivals. When a keen politician treats of a purely literary subject of universal interest, then it is ungenerous and unbecoming to criticise him with the violence of political dislike. It is to be regretted that Mr. Croker afterwards followed so unfortunate a precedent, more especially on his own account, since, to use Mr. Rogers's well-known remark on his celebrated review of the *History*, he meant *murder*, but committed

suicide. Those who are familiar with the savage attack on Croker in the opening of the article, should make themselves acquainted with the refutation that appeared in *Blackwood*, and was afterwards republished as a pamphlet by Mr. Murray. The majority of the imputations against Mr. Croker appear to be satisfactorily explained away. Another one which ought perhaps to be mentioned occurs in the article on Warren Hastings. Nothing can be more dramatic and effective than the way in which Sir Elijah Impey's sentence on Nuncomar is introduced, and the condemnation which the reviewer passes on the conduct of the judge. It appears that the truthfulness of the portrait of Impey is seriously arraigned. Thus writes one of his sons :—

"We were all most deeply attached to his memory, and deeply wounded by its desecration. Though not altogether unknown in the world, it is just possible that the reviewer knew nothing of our existence; but it is highly probable that he would not have deranged the symmetry of a single sentence, once constructed, to save five affectionate hearts from anguish. I abstain as much as possible from mixing up the sanctity of domestic sorrow with resentment of a public wrong; but if there be a slanderer base enough to find pleasure and triumph in having tortured the feelings of delicate and sensitive women, aged and honourable men, he may take my assurance for the fact, that these calumnies have not only embittered the remnants of life, but mingled with the sharpness of death."

Natural expressions of wounded feeling, of course, possess no value as evidence or argument; but Sir Elijah's son has published an important volume in vindication of his father's memory, which has gained for his pious cause

the suffrages of one or two writers on Indian subjects, whose opinions are entitled to great weight. The volume is based upon a most thorough examination, aided by Government, of all the documents and State papers likely to throw light on the subject, and it is worthy of a greater degree of attention than it seems to have received. I regret that I have been prevented from giving the subject that careful study which would justify an opinion, but it is right that this protest should be mentioned; and I should imagine that it would not be difficult to arrive at a conclusion respecting its value. "Bring me my liar," Charles V. used to say when he called for a history. And it is a mortifying reflection that the bar of history is after all as fallible as any other earthly tribunal.

It is not within the compass of our design to discuss the *History*, but any work relating to Lord Macaulay would be most incomplete that refrained from mentioning it. Unfortunately, the work is scarcely so far finished as really to entitle it to the appellation of a history of England. The last volume was only published since his decease.

*Lord Macaulay's History of England.**

"The standing orders of criticism were of necessity suspended when the final volume of Lord Macaulay's *History* was published. As a noble fragment, possessing the beauty and strength that indicates the genius of the original design, these pages would have their own proper value. But the chief interest is personal to the author. As we read the story of kings and statesmen, our thoughts evermore revert to the eloquent dead gathered to the kindred dust of the great Abbey, where he and they are

* The History of England, from the Accession of James II. By Lord Macaulay. Vol. V. (Longman & Co.)

now contemporaries together. We are witnessing the last sketches of the great artist; we are listening to the final tones of the great orator. At this point it was that the firm and cunning hand shook, became paralyzed, became lifeless; at this point it was that the clear, rich voice quivered, for a moment went on, and was then silenced for ever. If these pages had abounded with intimations of declining powers, had there been less force in the racy epithet, less brilliancy in the rapid sketch, less eloquence in the energetic argument, the public would still have given them a greeting of welcome and affection. But the wing is poised with equal vigour, though it proved to be for an unequal flight. The pen is assumed with all the old heartiness, although it is so soon to fall from the relaxing grasp. The historian, cheered by his country's interest and applause, pursues his course with eye undimmed and with natural force unabated.

"Lady Trevelyan, with some difficulty, deciphered the account of William's death, which appropriately enough concludes the volume. These few pages, at the first blush, give the volumes an apparent completeness which they are in reality very far from possessing. Comparing the large sections of events omitted with those detailed, it is probable that if completed in accordance with the author's design, the period would have occupied at least an ordinary volume. The persecution of his great favourite Somers, the death of the King of Spain, and the altered aspect of European politics, for instance, are subjects in which the historian would have especially delighted, and which would have given him abundant scope. From the remarkable absence of foot-notes throughout the volume, it is not improbable that the whole was yet reserved for some final touches. In the last few pages we are admitted into

the great painter's studio. The death of William is described in the simplest, almost in bare language. It is the original outline, to which almost every accessory is wanting. We thus gain some idea of the minute care with which the other volumes were elaborated and finished, and also of how much we are deprived in the scanty volume before us. The illness, death, and funeral of Queen Mary, in the fourth volume, show us the consummate care and art which he would have lavished on these final memorials of his great hero. We should have had a masterly summary of William's achievements: we should have had a profound and eloquent view of his character; we should have had a noble peroration to the whole five volumes, which are, indeed, in one point of view, an epic in honour of William. It must be remembered that nearly five years elapsed between the appearance of the third and fourth volumes and the great historian's lamented decease. It cannot be doubted but the present reliquary pages are a very disappointing result for five years, and do, in fact, very inadequately represent the amount of care and attention which Lord Macaulay devoted to his national theme.

"Two reasons might be given for this, and for each there is probably substantial grounds. One is to be sought in the peculiarities of Lord Macaulay's mental constitution. Lord Macaulay's memory was remarkably retentive; it was a memory that was itself a moral and an intellectual phenomenon. This is most apparent in his speeches. Some of those speeches exhibit the very highest degree of literary finish. They are not inferior to those perorations which great orators have written out a dozen times, and which had received multiplied improvements. Yet Lord Macaulay told Sir Bulwer Lytton that he never

committed any of his contemplated speeches to paper. He considered that by so doing he should be injuring the oratorical flow of his speech. His wonderful memory enabled him to retain every correction, and recollect accurately the *ipsissima verba* of the carefully meditated harangue. In fact, he wrote, re-wrote, revised and corrected his great speeches, all in his head. It is almost certain that Lord Macaulay had many *sententiæ* and *lumina*, as the author of the Dialogue on Oratory attributed to Tacitus calls them, which from time to time in his great work would have found their appropriate setting. Moreover, a considerable portion of the history does, in fact, consist of written oratory. A considerable portion of it might have been used with matchless effect if any debate had arisen in the legislature on cognate constitutional questions. Many pages of wonderful eloquence, of description, of pathos, of historical allusions, of clenching arguments, must have been composed and never written. He was now approximating to the reign of Queen Anne, and we might have safely looked for a chapter on the English literature of the era. His opinions on the books and writers of that age were well known, and had been set forth in the Essays. He was now prepared with his most matured judgments, and would have expressed them in the most finished form. He would have written them down from recollection, and without an effort. Long ago, by a process of mental alchemy, they had been moulded into perfection. The daughters of wisdom would have come forth in full panoply from the brain of Jupiter.

"This goes some way, but it does not go far. We are afraid that another and a more melancholy reason remains behind. For some time Lord Macaulay must have been

convinced that the task he had undertaken was beyond his strength. It required the fresher power of a younger man; and though his mind was as fresh and brilliant as ever, his physical power was gradually becoming weaker. When he took his pen in hand he wrote with all his wonted vigour, but there is little doubt he took the pen in hand comparatively seldom. The enforced relinquishment of his seat in Parliament must have been a monitor of impending decay. Years ago he had announced, with Thucydidean brevity, 'I purpose to write the History of England,' and to bring it down 'within the memory of men yet living.' And now that recorded purpose must have seemed a *vanitas vanitatum*, a *memento mori*. It may indeed be questioned, however early Lord Macaulay had commenced his undertaking, whether he could ever have completed it on the contemplated scale. He was engaged upon an historical painting, where each figure was drawn to the size of life. He was engaged upon a moving diorama, where nearly a mile of canvas was given to a mile of country. It took about a year of his life to reproduce a year of his *History*. So fast as he unravelled the threads of time, so fast was the web respun. He was overwhelmed by his own resources, and fell by his own weight. His work is a most signal instance of the limitation of all human powers. Even the accomplishment of the reign of William, which the author himself would most earnestly have desiderated, is imperfect. It shows, like some antique statue, where the loss of a limb mars, while it indicates the perfection of the whole. Englishmen can only contemplate with admiring despair a gigantic fragment of the literary Titan.

"The last volume was scarcely welcomed with the tumult of acclaim and expectation which was the lot of

its happier predecessors; for by some subtle law, on which we will not now speculate, an interest attaches to the writings of the living author which scarcely belongs to the dead classic. This would be the case even if the volume were complete, much more so in its present state of incompleteness. It is the tritest moral reflection, how the world passes on and heeds little and less the great ones who have fallen from its ranks. The great charm of Macaulay was his style. The antithesis, allusion, playful exaggeration, hearty expression, which periodical writers have copied till they have become vulgarised, have all a natural though an evanescent charm upon his page. The popularity of style, especially when the style is in some measure made up of mannerism, though immense for a time, scarcely enjoys a lifetime exceeding that of a generation. There are not wanting reasons which induce us to think that the popularity of this style is already on the wane. In the last few volumes the attention grows weary of the mass of people introduced, with whom we have no interest beyond that adventitiously imparted by the rare skill of the writer. Moreover, the literary taste is becoming less ambitious and less ornate. Rhetoric is being looked upon as a mere accomplishment. When Gibbon's *Decline and Fall* came out, we learn that nothing could exceed its popularity. The work was to be found on every drawing-room table. All the men discussed it, and all the ladies raved about it. The book became 'the rage.' Such language would describe very exactly the sensation produced by the successive instalments of Macaulay's *History*. Gibbon's grand and massive style still remains, but the subtle spirit of the hour that permeated it has fled. We should like to know how many really well-educated men are properly up in their Gibbon.

It is one of those books which no gentleman's library ought to be without, to use Charles Lamb's happy description, and which no gentleman ever thinks of reading. The day will come when only the curious and the learned will be diligent students of Macaulay's style, and try to discover the secret of the potent spell which he exercised over the minds of the men of his own generation. In the present volume, while describing the Duke of Portland's splendid embassy to Paris, Macaulay speaks of Rapin, Lord Woodstock's tutor, 'whose history, a century ago, was to be found in every library.' Any comparison between the merits of the two historians would be simply absurd. Yet the day may come when Macaulay may be even as Rapin, and the *History of England* as the *Decline and Fall.*

"We can almost imagine that there is an improvement perceptible in the ethical tone of the present volume. The hero of the story is not altogether a hero, nor the villain so much of a villain. Some human imperfections are admitted in William; some monstrosities of guilt are not alleged against Marlborough. The old party leaven, though still virulent, is partially subdued. The writer still draws on the white gloves at an assize of Whigs, and he immediately takes down the black cap when a Tory comes up for judgment. Perhaps, however, such analogies are in fault, inasmuch as Macaulay's forensic and biassed mind never permitted his elevation to the judicial bench. One of the most remarkable passages of this volume, and which we should least have expected from the political sympathies of the author, is his denunciation of the House of Commons. His language almost reminds us of that of Plato respecting the people,—that it is a wild beast, whose humours must be studied, lest it tear

us to pieces. The Parliaments well-nigh ruined the country. They are to be viewed with the greatest distrust. Mr. Hallam had also on several occasions discussed the grave apprehensions that may arise from our parliamentary government. But somehow, and this is strange enough, death seems the pervading burden of the volume. One after another of the great personages of the era disappears. Taking royalty alone, the King of Spain is gone, and James II. is gone, and William himself is gone; the young Gloucester, heir to the English crown, is gone; and the Bavarian heir to the Spanish empire is gone. And almost the final lines have a somewhat ominous tone, when the great historian tells us how William 'felt his time was short, and grieved, with a grief such as noble spirits feel, to think that he must leave his work only half finished.'"

Lord Macaulay died at his house, Holly Lodge, Dec. 21st, and was buried at Westminster Abbey.

It is out of our province to attempt any criticism either of the scope or the detail of the history. Generally speaking, it will scarcely escape the reproach that affects the whole of Lord Macaulay's literary and political career, of being tinged by a strong political bias. He does not wear Hallam's spotless ermine, and in reading his pages, we fail to feel that a new Chief Justice has taken his place on the great bench of historians. On matters of detail issue has been joined with him by different critics more or less competent. Lord Macaulay's knowledge of facts was so extraordinary, and so minute, that in any such controversy the chances decidedly are that he is correct, and his opponents in the wrong. At

the same time a body of adverse criticism exists in reference to the History, which is entitled to serious consideration. Such writers as the Bishop of Exeter, Mr. Lothbury, Mr. Paget, Mr. Dixon, Mr. Babington, have brought a series of objections against different portions of the History in which it is difficult to believe that there is no substratum of reality.

It will now be the proper business of the critics to examine the respective value of these objections, and to decide upon their accumulative weight. I imagine that in course of time it will not be difficult for students to arrive at a pretty general *consensus* on these points, or such of them at least as may be brought to a distinct issue, and decided according to the ordinary principles of evidence and argument.

I should rely upon Lord Macaulay's statements and conclusions, with almost implicit confidence, did it not appear to me that there existed in his case an extreme unwillingness to own himself in the wrong. Such an admission may have been obtained by Earl Stanhope, but I am not aware of any other instances. All objections, indeed, were received with courtesy, and weighed with attention. On comparing the different editions, it will be perceived that slight modifications have occasionally been made. But it is difficult to read considerable portions of Mr. Paget's book (parts of which, however, quite fail in sustaining his case), and also the letters of the Bishop of Exeter and Mr. Lothbury, without believing that modifications much more extensive ought to have been introduced. Lord Macaulay particularly excelled in dealing with ecclesiastical questions; and yet it is in this class of subjects that one has most frequently reason to feel dissatisfied. His portraiture of Cranmer for instance

ought not to be accepted without a comparison of the very different portraiture drawn by Mr. Froude, who is certainly not likely to be an interested or bigoted admirer of the Archbishop. That view of ecclesiastical history also which represents the Church of England as simply a compromise between the Church of Rome and the Church of Geneva, seems to me to be quite untenable. The idea of compromise was quite foreign to the lofty and fierce spirits of the sixteenth century. Those who reformed the Church of England, were men who would cheerfully have gone to the stake or the scaffold, rather than have sacrificed any portion of what they held to be God's truth. Inasmuch as our Reformation was effected by moderate men, and by wise counsels, inasmuch as it was based upon the Divine Word, and the rules of faith and practice of the purest ages of the Church, it assumed, as might have been expected, very much the appearance of a mean between the contending parties; but this mean was attained in obedience to abstract truth, and not according to any system of obedience and compromise. I must not, however, discuss this class of questions any farther; the subject is one very well deserving of separate treatment. His estimate of King William the Third will, probably, be considered an exaggerated one, and susceptible of very considerable abatement. It is to be regretted that the champion of Protestantism was an avowed adulterer, and that the restorer of English liberties should be the last king under whom an Englishman fell by act of attainder.

It was with a feeling of the utmost painfulness and surprise, that a rumour was heard in London one December day, that Lord Macaulay was no more. The daily papers, with the exception of one of the cheap newspapers, gave no intimation of a fact that was with

difficulty credited. I believe the statement in the penny paper was copied into a second edition of a local paper, and through this source the fact came to the knowledge of the London Press. A day or two afterwards the *Times* proclaimed the fact to all the world by an article on "the Late Lord Macaulay," written in noble and generous language, such as with one exception only, was used by all the press. In every company in England there was the expression of the same deep and personal loss; for by this time men had come to take a national pride in their illustrious fellow-countryman, and his great work. What was known of his character heightened this feeling of esteem. The loss was irreparable. Indeed it seemed that not a single but a multiplied loss had befallen our country and nation. Not only was the great rhapsodist gone, who told the grand epic of English history with Homeric energy and fire; but men reported that the Prince of Essayists was gone, the statesman, the orator, the poet. The departing year that had borne away so many of our great writers to their rest, had reserved its noblest victim for the last. The lesson of the fragility and mutability of all human greatness, was brought home to us all, in touching solemnity and reality, by the *hic jacet* of this illustrious author—the passing away from us of this majestic mind. In so short a while the purest wreaths of fame are lowered in the dust, and the loftiest peals of triumph are hushed in the silence of the grave.

At such a season it was less upon his intellectual greatness than upon his character that thought was fixed. It was said in some quarters that he had been a man without a heart, and certainly in his own regal independence, in his hearty joyous scorn of all pastime and weakness, he sometimes inflicted what were deep wounds on

sensitive natures, and conveyed a mistaken impression concerning himself. But it would seem that Lord Macaulay abounded with kind and generous feelings; and was a man of a deeply affectionate nature. A very large part of his annual income was regularly given away with unsparing and charitable hand, and the value of these gifts was infinitely enhanced by the grace and sympathy with which they were bestowed. I remember the case of a German gentleman who fell from comparative affluence to positive poverty, and who, most unhappily, ultimately died by his own hands. It so happened that this foreigner had some knowledge of Lord Macaulay, and asked for some assistance. Instead of receiving the eleemosynary guinea, as might have been expected, he was instantly presented with thirty pounds. And this unfortunate gentleman assured me that had not Mr. Macaulay, just about this time, lost his lucrative office of Post Master General, he might confidently have counted upon a still larger measure of support. At the time of his funeral I met with one who had known him, who told me that by a comparison of dates, almost the last lines which he had dictated before his death related to deeds of beneficence and generosity. We are not permitted to dogmatize respecting the state of a man's heart, but good deeds have their own unmistakable language, and we know that acts of love and self-denial are not to be without a final recognition and reward.

The great Abbey shields his remains within its tender and solemn gloom. Human praise or blame are nothing more to him than the cold airs on the fitful music that wander over his grave. Let us hope that with all his wisdom, and eloquence, and learning, he in common with multitudes ignorant, of slow mind and of stammering speech,

had learned to anchor aright his faith and hope fast by the cross of Christ. I do not remember any scene so sad, so solemn, so impressive as that of his funeral; evidences of respect so universal, demonstrations of grief so manifestly sincere. Although it was not a public funeral sanctioned and ordered by the State, yet to this it approximated about as nearly as could be. For the Speaker of the House of Lords, the Lord Chancellor Campbell, soon and suddenly to be called away, were there, and the Speaker of the House of Commons, and a great assemblage of the highest in intellect and rank which London, on that sad day, contained. As the procession slowly crept up the nave with a motion that seemed motionless, the music swept through the sacred pile, and at times the wail seemed almost to take an articulate human utterance. Then came the solemn and tearful eloquence of prayer, and the reading of that awful and blessed page in which the Apostle vindicates our nature's claim to immortality, and proclaims Heaven's own announcement of the Resurrection of the dead. And once more those strains broke forth, in which by a mighty master's hand the deepest and tenderest thoughts, the high consolation to those who live under their bereavement and sorrow, the high protest of those who die against the perishableness of earthly things. So fitly was he gathered to the Minster's kindred dust, among the nobles of the land to whose rank his own genius and labour had raised him, among our intellectual princes in whose noble company he bears no mean place, among eloquent and patriotic statesmen none of whom loved his country with a deeper, purer, and more enthusiastic love.

It may, indeed, be argued that, though few have had so brilliant a career as his, yet there are those who have

had a greater, that he was not one of those who have stamped their character upon our national history or stirred the profoundest feelings of the soul or the subtlest reaches of the intellect, that he was not one of those who have been content to teach truth in neglect and silence, leaving a legacy of lasting good to the world, and receiving for themselves the doom of hatred or obscurity or death. If his services to his country had been brilliant, they had been rewarded after a more brilliant fashion than ever yet had been conceded to a literary man. Or even compare the career of the illustrious son with that of his illustrious father. It was not the son's great lot to be a sufferer for mercy's and righteousness' sake, to be so active an agent in a beneficent movement which has changed the current of our history, to be one of those who will hereafter be found to have sensibly lessened the sum of the world's misery and degradation. That there would be abundant truth in such reflections is, I think, sufficiently clear. But it is a line of speculation on which it is by no means necessary to enter. It seems to me an ungenerous and invidious office, however right it may be to bear in mind greater claims, to dwell on such distinctions as these, or to seek by any means to detract from the greatness of a great man. Lord Macaulay has certainly conferred upon his countrymen some of the greatest benefits that man can confer on man. He has stirred their minds with his eloquent and glowing language, he has informed and enlightened their patriotism, he has shed a flood of brilliant light over the most obscure and perplexed portion of our annals, he has defended and illustrated the greatness and beneficence of our English land and law, he has cheered the hours of sickness and languor with the refreshing elixir of elevating knowledge

and innocent delight. The man who has done all this has not lived in vain; a man who has done all this has deserved well of his country and his people. His high guerdon will be that his name and memory will be cherished wherever the English tongue is spoken and the English race bears sway. We now turn away from this commemoration of his genius and glory; and we cannot more meetly conclude than in the words of a poet of our own, words that befit the great chief in letters as well as the great chief in arms:—

> But speak no more of his renown,
> Lay your earthly fancies down,
> And in the vast Cathedral leave him—
> God accept him, Christ receive him!

THE END.

BRADBURY AND EVANS, PRINTERS, WHITEFRIARS.

00021417

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 26 June, 2018